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SPECIMENS OF THE FOLKTALES FROM SOME ANTEBELLUM NEWSPAPERS OF LOUISIANA¹

By ARTHUR K. MOORE

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A considerable body of oral narrative, of both native and European provenance, appeared during the antebellum period in Louisiana newspapers, notably the New Orleans *Picayune*. Some of these folktales were borrowed—occasionally without attribution—from the *Spirit of the Times*, *Knickerbocker*, *Metropolitan*, *Philadelphia Ledger*, *National Intelligencer*, *Yankee Blade*, *St. Louis Reveille*, *London Punch*, and various rural newspapers, but others unquestionably derived from local resources. A few of the Louisiana specimens gathered for this study seem to be unique, while others are superior versions of types collected in other sections of the country. In general, the tales are complete and skillfully recounted, preserving traditional motifs with sharp distinction.

The presence of numerous Munchausens, legends, and anecdotes in the papers of Louisiana and other states is owing in large measure to the catholicity of taste possessed by many a whimsical editor and to the lack of adequate sources of conventional news. Sober accounts of military operations, diplomatic negotiations, and domestic controversies, transmitted by stage and steamer, came at irregular intervals and ordinarily in quantities sufficient to fill only a negligible fraction of the space not occupied by advertisements of slaves and plantations for sale, backgammon boards and duelling pistols, sarsaparilla and "B. A. Fahnestock's Vermifuge," orris and chlorine tooth wash, percussion caps and

¹ I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. William H. Jansen, for invaluable suggestions.

dram bottles. A fertile editorial imagination was required, as a consequence, to supplement the occasional reports from state and national capitals and to lift the dark face of vital statistics represented in euphemistic obituaries. Editors permitted themselves wide latitude in supplying the need for filler. On this account, during the period before the magnetic telegraph began to funnel the world's news into every railroad town of the nation, newspapers were invaluable repositories of social as well as formal history, mirroring regional manners, customs, and tastes in a *melange* of imitative verse by hometown muses, sketches of local characters, reports of traditional observances, superstitions, and prejudices, and fabulous narratives.

In Louisiana, the *Picayune* more than any other English-language newspaper achieved a rich regional character, reflecting besides the ferment of the mixed French, English, and Irish populations of New Orleans the extravagance and violence of the Southwest frontier and of the River. The *Picayune* in the 1840's was filled with reports of Indian resettlement, cholera and yellow fever, the Keans on the stage, ship movements, Parisian fashions, "aerial navigation," phrenology, and the second Advent. Sketches in the *Pic* suggest the cultural contrasts in the city: "green sass" men peddling vegetables in the Vieux Carre with strident proclamations: "E-a-r-s yerfinenice—artaties, artichokes, cantaloupes, feegs and arnicerkereams—cheeses! Ear! Ear!"; "cymbal" men retailing crullers to the sloe-eyed Creole dames of Bourbon Street; the frenzied dancing of the blacks to the accompaniment of weird chanting in Congo Square on Saturday nights; angular Hoosiers in hickory shirts and Kentucky Jane trousers at the wharves with flatboats laden with cattle, hogs, fowls, whiskey, corn, and tobacco from the headwaters of the Ohio, Tennessee, Wabash, and Kentucky. Immigrants from a dozen nations paraded through Recorder Baldwin's court charged with drunkenness, brawling, and larceny, and these usually humorous proceedings the *Pic* faithfully printed.²

matic Frenchmen.

Favorable as this milieu was for the folktale, the original suggestion was possibly provided by the New York *Spirit of the Times*, "A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage," founded in 1831. The editor, William

² D. Corcoran, *Pickings from the Portfolio of the Reporter of the New Orleans "Picayune"* (Philadelphia, 1846), collected 105 Recorder's Court installments. These sketches are not folktales, but humorous accounts of the testimony of witty Irish, backwoods gulls, and dramatic Frenchmen.

Trotter Porter, collected and printed numerous tall tales and anecdotes³ with Southern settings. This weekly magazine circulated widely in the South,⁴ and unquestionably stimulated interest in oral narrative. It is therefore noteworthy that in 1838, a year after the founding of the *Picayune*, George Wilkins Kendall and associates launched a weekly edition of the paper "Devoted to News, Literature, Humor, & c.," which, if not modeled on the *Spirit*, appealed to much the same audience that relished Porter's magazine.⁵

Existing evidence strongly suggests that a significant proportion of the folk narrative in Southern papers was designed as a kind of regional response to the extravagant stories emanating from other sections of the nation. Hence, a folktale reprinted from the *Spirit of the Times* or some other Northern journal was often instrumental in evoking a comparable account from local tradition. One of the most complex versions of the "wonderful shot" (No. 15) yet reported came from a subscriber bent on surpassing a specimen in the *Spirit*. To a humorous yarn turning on the Jonah motif (No. 19) the editor of the *Pic* appended a challenge: "N. Y. Journal of Commerce and New Orleans Bulletin please copy." An utterly fantastic description of a New Orleans fog (No. 6) in the same paper was addressed to the Northern press:

Our Northern brethren seem determined to insist upon the superiority of their fog; and not content with telling the mere truth, they are continually drawing upon their fancy for facts We shall therefore state nothing but the unvarnished truth, and we call upon the editors alluded to, to mark how a plain tale shall put them down.

To the *St. Louis Reveille* the *Pic* credited an account of a remarkable hunt,⁶ in which a Kentuckian and a half-breed called Mal Boeuf exhibited truly heroic quality. On foot these peerless frontiersmen ran down a herd of sixteen elk, slaughtered the lot, and returned, still on the run, to the post of the Missouri Fur Company

³ Represented in the *Big Bear of Arkansas* (New York, 1845). See also Thomas Bangs Thorpe, *The Hive of the Bee-hunter* (New York, 1854), for additional frontier narrative.

⁴ Jennette Tandy, *Crackerbox Philosophers* (New York, 1925), p. 72.

⁵ A portion of the formal news and most of the "Sunday supplement" matter of the daily *Pic* were printed, with additions, in the weekly edition.

⁶ *Weekly Picayune*, Aug. 26, 1844, p. 222. The *Elk Runners* was also reprinted from the *Reveille* by J. M. Field [Everpoint], *The Drama in Pokerville* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 108-11.

near Council Bluffs, neither having proved his superiority over the other. The conclusion suggests the friendly rivalry between sections and the influence of the *Spirit*:

Our informant tells us that he has made an examination of the country forming their race-track himself, and that they, without exaggeration, must have run seventy-five miles between the hours of 8 A.M. and 7 P.M. He is fond of reading the New York Spirit of the Times, and wishes to know what the editor thinks of the Barclay and Ebsworth breed, when compared with the prairie runners of the West . . .

The folktale, employing clearly defined traditional motifs, is to be distinguished from the sketch,⁷ which may be in part anecdotal or fabulous, but is normally leisurely narrative inspired by credible, though frequently unusual, facets of regional culture, events in history, or drama of everyday life. On the other hand, the folktale—Munchausen, anecdote, legend—depends upon a neat situation, which if plausible to the credulous aboriginal in a retarded state of society is nevertheless a transparent fabrication to the sophisticated. This genre depends upon a formula, and is therefore not limited by time or place. Hence, tales with European and Asiatic analogues have appeared frequently in American oral tradition, adjusted to national tastes but preserving the essential themes.

By the time the English people entered upon the settlement of North America, aboriginal naïveté had been somewhat dissipated by Christianity, education, and other influences. Hence, certain Old World tale types are meagerly represented, if at all. The *Märchen*, though not unknown to British tradition, figures little in the narrative of the English-speaking South.⁸ Myths and fables, except among the Indians, are even rarer. Paul Bunyan, the center of a cycle of tales, is indisputably Herculean, and Davy Crockett and Mike Fink, among others, have something of the miraculous quality of the culture heroes, though not the dignity. Perhaps for the reasons that the South was developed fairly late and that contact with the Indians was seldom intimate or even friendly, the legend is relatively scarce in Southern tradition, in

⁷ Besides Corcoran's Recorder's Court sketches should be mentioned George M. Wharton [Stahl], *The Portfolio of a Southern Medical Student* (Philadelphia, 1872) and *New Orleans Sketch Book* (Philadelphia, 1843), and H. C. L. [Madison Tensas], *Odd Leaves from the Life of a Louisiana Swamp Doctor* (Philadelphia, 1850). For other collections of Southern humor published during the nineteenth century, see Tandy, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-102.

⁸ The high incidence of the type among the Louisiana French is suggested by Alcée Fortier's collection, *Louisiana Folk-Tales* (Memoirs of the Amer. Folk-Lore Soc., II; Boston, 1895).

contrast to the plentifulness of the type in New England.⁹ Excepting an occasional story of witch, ghost, or devil, the Southern repertoire consists in the main of tall tales and anecdotes, narratives bordering on the fantastic and often filled with frightful barbarity, but nevertheless, credible, or nearly so. In Louisiana newspapers, at any rate, the tall tale appeared most frequently in the 1840's, thereafter the anecdote (jests, shrewd bargains, sharp retorts, clever deductions, and outrageous deceits). By the 1850's Southern papers were already acquiring a conventional character, and the humor shifted accordingly from the broadly farcial and violent to the witty.

The folktale in its most picturesque form has not disappeared entirely from American newspapers; not a year passes that one of the press associations does not renew the life of a hoary motif—perhaps inadvertently. But the antebellum files are unquestionably the richer. Unfortunately, few Southern newspapers were founded much more than a quarter of a century before the war, and the files of even fewer are moderately complete. The material for this article has been taken mainly from the daily and weekly *Picayune*, *New Orleans Delta*, *Carrollton Star*, and *Carrollton Times*, for which fairly good runs exist.¹⁰ Little notice is taken of folktales attributed to prominent papers of other sections of the country; presumably they have been or will be collected at the source.¹¹

Since all of these specimens have passed through editorial hands, a degree of "literary" polishing and elaboration may be assumed. Generally regrettable though it may be, this rehandling has preserved, with learned additions, very full specimens of the tale types. In contrast, many versions recently pried from oral tradition are deficient in narrative skill and, more importantly, in essential elements.

1. "THE MYSTERIOUS MUSIC OF PASCAGOULA"

A number of Louisiana and Mississippi historians have taken some notice of a legend which explains the "mysterious music" of Pascagoula Bay by reference to the mass water-suicide of an

⁹ C. M. Skinner, *Myths and Legends of Our Own Land* (Philadelphia, 1896), 2 vols., devoted nearly half of Vol. I and part of Vol. II to New England legends but only 45 pages to Southern.

¹⁰ The anecdote, which has less interest than the tall tale, has not been given proportional representation in this study; but Nos. 24-30 are fairly typical of the very large number of examples of this type.

¹¹ R. M. Dorson, *Jonathan Draws the Long Bow* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), has performed this service for New England.

Indian tribe—in some accounts the Biloxis, in others the Pascagoulas, both once resident on the Gulf Coast.¹² An excellent specimen of a widely known tale type, which includes the story of the *Siren of the French Broad*¹³ from the Upper South and of course Hauptmann's *Die versunkene Glocke* (1896), this legend in a much-elaborated "literary" form was interpolated by a reporter of the *Delta* in an article about an excursion of husbands and wives on Pascagoula Bay.

[The most popular legend . . . connects with this phenomenon [the mysterious music] the mournful story of an Indian tribe, that once reigned supreme through the whole country watered by the Pascagoula and the adjacent streams. They were the Pascagoulans. Their rich possessions and treasure attracted the cupidity of the Chocktaws [sic], Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other warlike tribes from the North. They invaded the territory of the Pascagoulas, and waged with them a long, fierce, and destructive war. The Pascagoulas were finally driven from their homes, step by step, until, at last, all that was left of this once numerous tribe were collected on the neck of land made by the bay of West Pascagoula on one side, and the river on the other. Hither they were chased and hemmed in by their ferocious foes. . . . A council of warriors was called to deliberate upon the most dignified and heroic mode of meeting their inevitable destiny. Many propositions were made, which obtained no cordial approval or sympathy from the warriors. At last a venerable white-haired patriarch arose, and addressed the council, in these few and emphatic words:

"Warriors! The Pascagoulas are the children of the Sea, as the Natchez are of the Sun. Our fathers sprang from yonder green waves. We, their children, driven from the land, must seek a glorious grave, and rejoin our fathers, beneath those billows. Strike up, then, the war song of our tribe, and let us go, with our wives, our children, our gods, our arms, and our treasure, into the sea, and find in its depths, that rest and security which are denied to us on earth."

¹² The Biloxis perish in the versions mentioned by Charles Lanman, *Adventures in the Wilds of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1856), II, 200, and Skinner, *op. cit.*, II, 90-92; the Pascagoulas, according to Minnie Walker Myers, *Romance and Realism of the Southern Gulf Coast*, quoted by Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi* (Chicago and Jackson, Miss., 1925), I, 90f. For a very different account of the water-suicide, see Charles Gayarré, *Louisiana; Its Colonial History and Romance* (New York, 1851-52), I, 390-92. K. W. Porter, "A Legend of the Biloxi," *Journal of American Folklore*, LIX (1946), 170, has connected this legend with a tradition of St. Simons Island (Georgia) that Ibo Negroes, not long from Africa, drowned themselves in Dunbar Creek to escape slavery.

¹³ Skinner, II, 77 f.

A unanimous and deep-toned "Humph!" approved the heroic suggestion. Straightway, with faces brilliant with heroic resolve, and with proud carriage and firm step, the Pascagoula warriors collected their wives and children together, forming them into circles, by joining hands, and then surrounding them with a large circle of warriors, clad in their most gaudy costume, and bearing their idols in one hand, and flourishing their war-clubs in the other. Thus formed and accoutred, the devoted tribe struck up their thrilling war-cry . . . and slowly marched into the sea. Their enemies no sooner perceived this movement, than they rushed towards their retreating foes, fearful, that by some trick or device, they might escape their revenge. They reached the water's edge just in time to catch a view of the sinking plumes of the Pascagoula warriors, as, with their wives and children, they glided beneath the billows of their parent ocean. But the notes of their warsong still rose from the troubled waters, and long after there was not a visible sign of this once powerful tribe, and the waves had closed over them, and the surface of the sea had become smooth and rippleless, did the defiant notes of the Pascagoulas still ring through the air. . . . Ever since, the legend runs, at the same hour, near the decline of day, when the sun has just disappeared behind Horn Island, the notes of this war song may be heard. . . .¹⁴]

2. "THE DEVIL AND THE DOG"

(From the Choctaw)

[Ylxmdodah, or Belzebub, once fell in love with a beautiful squaw, the daughter of a great chief. Oucha, the young squaw, had a very good dog that loved her, and knew the devil by the scent. Ylxmdodah, the fiend king, came one night to the wigwam of Oucha, Oucha slept, but the dog was waking; and the dog, knowing the devil, bit him and ate his flesh. The devil went away barking, and the dog spent the night in howling. The next day was very hot, and the stream near the Choctaw village was burnt up by the sun. The dog ran through the village howling and hanging out its tongue. Its eyes turned to fire, and the great warriors of the tribe were stricken with fear. At length Oucha's dog went away from the village, was lost among the prairies, and was never seen again. The tribe assembled in council and were greatly dismayed. An American trader who had married a squaw and lived in the

¹⁴ *New Orleans Weekly Delta*, July 23, 1849, p. 321.

village told the chiefs the dog was mad; but the great Medicine said the pale face lied, for Oucha, the chief's daughter, had in the night a dream of Ylxmdodah; and thus the great Medicine explained the mystery of the Devil and the Dog.^{15]}

3. "THE ORIGIN OF THE TWIST IN PIGS' TAILS"

Fort Leavenworth, 5th April, 1844

[The Devil was soon at the little house in the village occupied by Cut Legs [of whose fame as a shrewd fellow he had heard]. He knocks at the door and is asked in.

"Mr. Cut Legs, I presume?"

"At your service, Mr. Devil," for Legs with his accustomed shrewdness, could not be deceived by 'the Old Boy,' in spite of all attempts at concealment.

.

Cut Legs completely worked himself, or, if you please, insinuated himself into the affections of the Devil; so much so, that the latter frankly told him, that he dreaded the hour of parting.

"But why should that ever be, my old friend," says Legs.

"How can it be avoided?" asked the Devil.

.

"I have hit upon this plan; suppose (as I have an old sow with a fine litter of pigs) we stock a farm and work it on shares?" [says Legs].

.

"Agreed! agreed! How delightful it will be, my dear Legs, to employ ourselves in so romantic and rural a manner; and besides, what incalculable benefit can we not be to the agricultural world by giving them the benefit of our experience in husbandry."

They shook hands upon the bargain and swore everlasting friendship. A small farm was immediately purchased in the vicinity of the village in which Cut Legs resided, the old sow with her litter of pigs were comfortably ensconced in their sty, and it was resolved their first crop should be corn. The corn came

¹⁵ *Weekly Picayune*, Jan. 13, 1840, p. 188. For a comparable Choctaw story, which, however, is not etiological, see D. I. Bushnell Jr., *The Choctaw of Bayou Lacombe, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana* (Bur. of Amer. Ethnology, Bull. No. 48; Washington, D. C., 1909), pp. 33 f.

up finely and promised a good yield, and when it was ready to be gathered to the granary, Cut Legs proposed to the Devil, that they should divide the crops on the ground. The Devil was perfectly satisfied, but being wholly ignorant of the value of the crop, allowed Cut Legs to make the division.

"Well," says Legs, "you take the roots and I'll take the tops."

"Agreed," says the Devil. Of course Legs got all the corn and wooled the Devil on the first division. Their stock of pigs increased finely the first year, "were fruitful and multiplied." The second year's crop it was decided should be potatoes; when they were ready to be gathered, the Devil thinking to get ahead of Cut Legs this time, proposed that Legs should take the roots and he would take the tops.

"Agreed," says Legs. Cut Legs of course got all the potatoes and wooled the Devil the second time.

.

Cut Legs of course had enjoyed it with a zest, and was nothing loath to continue the business. . . The Devil having determined to break with Legs, abruptly told him that he thought they had better divide the hogs . . . and dissolve partnership. Cut Legs replied, with the blandest smile, "most certainly—just as the Devil pleases." Previous to division the hogs were collected in one large pen, with two others built on each side to hold their different shares. They threw out pig for pig, when as they approached the completion of the division, it was found that the small pens would not hold them and that they already had intermingled.

"Hello!" says the Devil. "Cut Legs, what shall we do? How shall we tell our pigs?"

"Oh! most readily, I twisted the tails of mine as I threw them over, and they will be easily recognized."

Upon examination, to the utter discomfiture and mortification of the Devil, all the tails were found twisted, save one lean old sow, who from want of strength and old age combined, had let the kink out of her tail!¹⁶

¹⁶ *Southern Traveller* (Lafayette), June 12, 1844. The crop division is a familiar motif—K171.1 in Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (Bloomington, Ind., 1932-36), 6 vols. See Dorson, *op. cit.*, p. 55; R. S. Boggs, "North Carolina White Folktales and Riddles," *JAF*, XLVII (1934), 292; Richard Chase, *Grandfather Tales* (Boston, 1948), pp. 88-98; E. C. Parsons, "Tales from Guilford County, North Carolina," *JAF*, XXX (1917), 175.

4. "THE STORY OF MORGAN JONES AND THE DEVIL"

A Welshman, Morgan Jones, often suspected of horse-stealing, always managed to escape conviction, as a consequence, it was widely supposed, of his trafficking with the Devil. Confronted with this rumor by his cronies, Jones confessed to some knowledge of his Satanic Majesty.

"Why, yes," answered Jones, "there's some truth in that same, sure enough; I used to meet with him now and then, but we fell out, and I have not seen him these two months. . . . It was about two months ago from this that we went one evening along the brook shooting wild fowl, and as I was going whistling along, whom should I spy coming up but the Devil himself? But you must know he was dressed mighty fine, like any grand gentleman, though I knew the old one well by the bit of his tail which hung out at the bottom of his trousers. Well, he came up, and says he, "Morgan, how are you?" And, says I, "I'm only walking out by the brook this fine evening, and carrying my backy pipe with me to smoke."

Well, you all know the old fellow is mighty fond of the backy; so, says he, "Morgan, let's have a smoke, and I'll thank you." . . . So I gave him the gun, and he put the muzzle in his mouth to smoke, and thinks I, I have you now, old boy, 'cause, you see, I wanted to quarrel with him; so I pulled the trigger, and off went the gun, bang in his mouth. "Puff!" says he, when he pulled it out of his mouth, and he stopped a minute to think about it, says he, "d—d strong backy, Morgan?" Then he gave me the gun, and looked huffed and walked off; and sure enough I've never seen him since. And that's the way I got shut of the old gentleman, my boys!¹⁷

5. "AN INFERNAL REPORT"

[In a small town in one of the counties of a certain State, a stranger rode up to the door of a tavern, and having dismounted, ordered a stall and oats for his horse. A crowd of loafers . . . swarmed about the barroom doors, waiting to be invited up to counter. . . . One fellow . . . made free to inquire of the traveler

¹⁷ *Picayune*, Jan. 26, 1837. This is an example of the "cruel deception" type (Thompson K 1057). See Dorson, p. 55.

what occupation he followed, to which the latter replied that his business was a secret for the present, but that he would probably make it known before leaving town.

Having spent a day in looking around, visiting places where whisky was sold, and making various inquiries as to the amount retailed, the number of habitual drunkards in the place, the number of dogs owned by people whose children never went to school, or had enough to eat . . . and having mounted his horse, was about to ride off, when his inquisitive friend stepped up and said:

"See here, Captain, you promised to tell us your business before you left. . . ."

"Well," said the stranger, "I am an agent of the devil. I'm hunting a location for hell, and am glad I've found a place where it will not be necessary to remove the present inhabitants."¹⁸

6. "IMMENSE FOG"

According to regional boasters, the weather was no less marvellous than the hunters and animals of America. No doubt actual meteorological vagaries were sometimes extraordinary, but nothing in fact confirms the major claims of the "windies." This specimen, angled at Northern editors as previously noted, proves that the "first liar hasn't got a chance." [Yesterday morning we had occasion to visit the steam packet *Columbia*, which was about to leave for Texas. When we arrived in sight of the pier where she had been lying, we saw at once that it was impossible to approach her; for the whole river was covered with a dense mass of fog, enveloping all the vessels, and stretching over several feet upon the levee. The trunks and other luggage of some hundred passengers, bound for the *Columbia*, were strewn along the levee; and some fifty laborers were busy with spades, axes, crowbars, & c. &c. endeavoring to open a pathway through the fog; but its density was so great, that nothing but gunpowder would affect it. A few blasts loosened the mist a little, and by the aid of pickaxes and shovels, we were enabled to get upon the deck of the boat. We were greatly surprised to see such a difference between the atmosphere in Camp street, and that on the river; but we were not singular in our surprise, for this is the greatest fog "that has ever occurred here within the recollection

¹⁸ *Carrollton Star*, March 28, 1855.

of the oldest inhabitants." While we were on board, the hour for starting arrived, and the crew began to cut away the fog around the vessel, so as to get her out into the stream; but all their efforts were unavailing, and the Columbia was obliged to continue jammed up against the pier, where we saw her lying at two in the afternoon.

P.S.—At ten o'clock last night, the fog stove in three flat boats and crushed all the inmates. The destruction is truly lamentable.

P.S.S.—The butchers at Slaughter House Point being unable to force their pirogues through the fog, climbed up about 40 feet, and finding the air sufficiently thin at that height, they hauled their beef up after them, and trundled it across to the city on top of the fog, by means of wheelbarrows.¹⁹]

7. "CLIMATE OF CALIFORNIA"

[Dan (Marble), who never permits the lack of an introduction to interfere when he desires to form an acquaintance, hailed the stranger, "Hallo! my friend, where are you from?" "Jes from Calerforny, stranger." "Ah, indeed! and you can tell us then whether it's true about that gold?" somewhat anxiously interrogated Dan in reply. "Trew as you live! and a darn'd sight more—for no man out of Calerforny really does live." "Then why did you come back?" "Back?—why to get my family. Fact is, stranger, a man there gets so powerful rich, that he becomes covetous of himself; and ef he aint very keerful, will cut his own throat to rob himself. The root of all evil, you know, there's a lettle too much of it, and I left for a while, partly on that account." "Oh, you did, eh?" "Yes—and between you and me—that's the only way a man can die in that blessed land." "Healthy climate, I suppose?" "Healthy!—it aint anything else. Why, stranger, you can choose any climate you like—hot or cold—and that without travelin' more than fifteen minutes. Jest think o' that the next cold mornin' when you git out o' bed. There's a mountain there—the Sawyer Navyday, they call it—with a valley on each side of it, and the one hot and the tother cold. Well, git on the top o' that mountain with a double-barreled gun, and you can, without movin', kill either summer or winter game, jest as you will."

¹⁹ *Daily Picayune*, Feb. 2, 1838.

"What! have you ever tried it?" "Tried it? often, and should have done pretty well, but for one thing." "Well, what was that?" "I wanted a dog that would stand both climates. The last dog I had froze off his tail while pintin' on the summer side. He didn't git entirely out of the winter side, you see. Trew as you live!"²⁰]

8. "LIGHTNING VS. A RED SQUIRREL"

A group of "bushfighters" of the Tiger Settlement of Greenup District, Kentucky, were assembled in a grocery store discussing the relative speeds of animals, fluids, bodies, etc. Lightning had been suggested and generally approved by the company when an old man interposed:

[You are all mistaken boys. Lightnin' is pretty considerable almighty rapid, when it takes a notion . . . ; but then to say that it goes with a greater looseness than any thing else, it's no such thing . . .

And I can prove to you, jist as easy as rolling off a log, that a red squirrel—Oh, you needn't laugh there—Yes, a red squirrel is quicker on the foot, and can run away from lightnin' jist like a d——n.

Well, you see, I was way back in the mountain one day, wild-cat hunting, when all at once I saw the blackest cloud rising I ever did see. I took shelter under a big pine tree right straight. Way down below me was another big pine, the top of which was about on a level with where I stood, and on the tip-top limb of this tree set a little red squirrel, chucking away at a pine burr jist as unconcerned as though there wasn't any such thing as thunder and lightnin' within a hundred miles of him, or if there was, didn't care a continental d——n about it, one way or another.

Thinks I to myself, if some stray streak should happen accidentally to come down this way and catch him nappin', he'd be a gone squirrel—and sure enough, presently down came a streak as swift as—as—

²⁰ *Weekly Delta*, Jan. 15, 1849, p. 109. For other mixed weather tales, see Herbert Halpert, "Tall Tales and Other Yarns from Calgary, Alberta," *California Folklore Quarterly*, IV (1945), 36 ff.

Well, the squirrel didn't appear to mind or care a snap about it, until the lightnin' got within two feet of him, then he thought it was time to clear himself, and down he went, h——l bent, and the lightnin' after him . . . The squirrel got down that tree, and thirty-eight feet up another, before the lightnin' got to the foot of the first tree.^{21]}

9. "CLOSE QUARTERS"

[I felt pretty considerably frisky one day and I went up the lightning rod hand over hand, as far as the vane! I had a first rate prospect up there—but that ain't all. A thunder-cloud came over, and I saw it was going to strike the steeple, and think I to myself, if it hit me I am done up. So I got ready, and when the crack came I gave a leap up, let the lighten strike and run down, and then caught hold again.^{22]}

10. "WONDERFUL SNAKE STORY"

Southern editors were perhaps dependent upon exchange papers from New England for yarns about serpents of the sea,²³ but the South confessed to no lack of stories of terrestrial sorts. Both in fact and in fiction the region possessed an abundance, ranging from the verifiable diamond-back to the fabled hoop snake. If the actual reptiles were unequal to the fictional, palpitating experiences in swamp and flat-woods gave credence to tales of supreme extravagance. Moreover, the snake stories frequently achieve amid fantasy a blood-curdling versimilitude scarcely possible in accounts of that product of romance, the sea serpent. There is also a sameness in yarns of the marine sort, whereas variety is the rule in Southern narrative. Nothing in Ambrose Bierce²⁴ is weirder than the eye-witness account which follows:

[There was a good deal of excitement in Rockingham county, North Carolina, on account of a snake with a human head. The animal was only seen by a son of Mr. O. B. Stone. He first saw it at his father's turpentine still. His father, to whom he attempted to point the monster, was never able to see it, though the boy declared it was under his feet. Several attempts were made by the

²¹ *Picayune*, Apr. 2, 1837. This dispute recalls typical subjects of Arkansas debating societies: "Which is the more powerful: the sun or the wind? Which is the cause of more evil: women or money?"—J. R. Masterson, *Tall Tales of Arkansas* (Boston, c. 1943), pp. 143 f.

²² *Carrollton Star*, Dec. 27, 1851.

²³ See *Two Sea Serpents*, credited to the *New Haven Courier*, *Weekly Picayune*, Mar. 16, 1846, p. 455.

²⁴ Cf. *The Damned Thing*.

boy to shoot him, but the different guns he used would never explode when pointed in the direction of the snake, though they would if turned another way. The father, in a letter to the Madison (North Carolina) Democrat, says:

"Some of my neighbors came in again to see the snake, and to see if they could find any mark it made, so we sprinkled ashes all over the stillhouse, and in the hole where it always came in, and we tied my son fast, so he could not make the track himself, in any way whatever, and then we left him tied in the still-house by himself, and went away, and it was but a few moments before he let us know that the snake was in the still-house again, and we went to see if there was any mark; and behold, there was a mark as broad as my hand where it came in and went out, and they were confirmed it was something; I did not suffer Alfred to stay about the still-house but a little, for whenever he goes there he is sure to see it, and it also appears to him in different parts of the farm, but not so as it does at the still-house; and he was told to talk to it, and it would tell him what it wanted; and he says he asked in the name of the Lord what did it want, and he says it said to him that it wanted to destroy the stilling, and sneaked off. So, then, to be convinced, I tied Alfred in the still-house again, and he was told to wear clover in his hat, and then he could see what it was; and while he was tied in the still-house he had clover in his hat, and he saw the snake come and peep in the house, having a face, eyes, mouth, tongue, and all, precisely like a man he perfectly knew; and all but the head was precisely like a rattle snake; and it scared him prodigiously. Then, on Sunday last, 28th October, there were a great many persons who came to my house (who doubted the reality of the mark of the snake) to see if they could find the mark, and I tied Alfred again in order that they might be convinced. All of them, respectable men, saw the mark distinctly, and were convinced by the mark of the snake."²⁵

11. "AN ARKANSAS SNAKE STORY"

[Saline County, near Caldwell's Ferry

January 26, 1844

Mr. Editor—A few weeks ago, digging in a mound near my house, I found a cavity (which had probably been made by gophers) about three feet below the surface, in the bottom of

²⁵ *Sunday Delta*, Jan. 13, 1856.

which lay a snake, in coil, which, when measured, was four feet eight inches long, and six and a half inches in girth. It is of a beautiful sky-blue color, covered all over with a soft fine fur, like a mole, except its head and tail, which are of a silvery whiteness, and as smooth as the finest morocco leather. I can discover no fangs in its mouth; but in bending back its tail, four fangs present themselves to view, resembling those in cat's claws. As it is torpid, it is easily examined. I am a new comer, and did not know but such snakes were common in this country; but my neighbors say (and they have all come to see it) that it is a nondescript. It can be seen at any time, as I have it in a box. Its tail is composed of twelve soft flexible joints.

THOMAS W. C. VANDIVER²⁶

12. "SNAKE STORY"

The report in a Mississippi newspaper of the killing of a snake thirty feet long, containing "two squirrels, five birds, and two young negroes" reminded the editor of the *Pic* of a comparable tall tale:

[Nothing to one that was killed in this vicinity, measuring upwards of forty rods. Our snake on being opened, contained a family Bible, the unexpired lease of a three story brick house in Royal street, three boxes of Peter's Pills (with directions), an unfinished mile of the Nashville Railroad, three stray horses, Cioffi's trombone, three packages of tickets in the Grand Lottery, a Dutch music grinder with his barrel organ, a plan of the city of Uncle Sam, lost since 1837, and a pair of peg-bottomed boots which the owner is respectfully requested to prove and take away.²⁷]

13. "EFFECT OF WHITE ASH ON THE RATTLE-SNAKE"

A party of Arkansas hunters (identified as Judge Woodruff, J. Kirkland, and Dr. C. Hutton) were on a stand waiting for deer when a rattlesnake appeared. It occurred to the judge to test the effect of white-ash leaves on the reptile. After procuring a branch of the desired sort, he made the following experiment:

²⁶ *Weekly Picayune*, Mar. 4, 1844, p. 22, credited to the *Arkansas Banner* (Little Rock).

²⁷ *Weekly Picayune*, Dec. 16, 1839, p. 172.

[As soon as I came within seven or eight feet of him, he quickly threw his body into a coil, elevated his head eight of ten inches, and brandishing his tongue, "gave note of preparation" for combat. I first presented the ash, placing the leaves upon his body. He instantly dropped his head to the ground, unfolded his coil, rolled over upon his back, writhed and twisted his whole body into every form but that of a coil, and appeared to be in great anguish. Satisfied with the trial thus far made, I laid by the white ash. The rattle-snake immediately righted, and placed himself in the same menacing attitude as before described. I now presented him the sugar maple. He lanced in a moment, striking his head into a tuft of leaves "with all the malice of the under fiends," and the moment coiled and lanced again, darting his whole length at each effort with the swiftness of an arrow.²⁸]

14. "THE LAST SNAKE STORY"

["I reckon this 'ere country of yourn is pretty considerable productive, stranger, isn't it?" said a down-easter, who had just arrived in one of the new Mississippi settlements, to a person whom he met, one of the regular meat-axe breed. "There's not such another country between this and the State of Buncombe, in North Carolina," replied the Mississippi settler. "Raise a good deal of cotting, eh?" "Lots of it." "All-fired quantities of game in this section, I s'pose." "Considerable of a sprinkling, 'specially snakes." "What sort of snakes?" "Rattle-snakes and copper-heads." "Oh! get out! du tell, I want tu know if they're so almighty thick?" "Rather. Dad an I went out this morning snake-hunting—killed only a cord and a quarter—but then it was a bad snake morning, and you must make some allowances." "Oh! I'll make any 'lowances and tracks out of the settlement at the same time. But say, jest 'tween ourselves, if it had really been a good morning, how many cords du you 'magin you'd a killed." "Five is about an average." "Five! you don't say so?" "Yes I do, though." "Which is my shortest way out of this 'ere settlement? I've strong ideas of sloping, forthwith."²⁹]

²⁸ *Feliciano Whig* (Clinton), Nov. 14, 1849. H. W. Thompson, *Body, Boots, and Britches* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 298, records this belief but without illustrative matter.

²⁹ *Daily Picayune*, Feb. 27, 1838.

15. THE WONDERFUL SHOT

There can be little doubt that the "wonderful shot" is the most widely distributed American tale type. In one form or another it is surely known to all who are conversant with native yarning. The remarkable shot proper often occurs in conjunction with incidental strokes of fortune, which are motifs in their own right. The hunter may accidentally add to his bag a rabbit, bear, mess of fish, covey of quail, and/or hive of honey. This excellent specimen from the *Pic* combines three tale types, involving the miraculous shot (1890),³⁰ the bear tree (1900), and the enormous vegetable (1960 D).³¹

This version was contributed to the New Orleans paper by a subscriber of Baton Rouge, who was inspired by a piece entitled *Tall Shooting*, which was apparently copied from a number of the *Spirit of the Times* and printed in a previous *Pic*. It was the intention of the contributor to demonstrate that New York could not surpass the South in shooting.

[Among the first settlers of this part of our state, was a Mr. Yurberg, a great hunter, who lived near Galveston, on the river Amite; he was fond of relating his exploits, more particularly the following:

He took down his favorite rifle one morning during the fall of 1785, and proceeded into the forest in search of game upon which he chiefly subsisted; but after wandering about during three or four hours, without meeting anything worth burning powder for, and being then near the river, he concluded to rest himself awhile under the shade of a tree on its bank. He had not been long seated, when, looking up the stream, he discovered, on a large log floating slowly down, two pelicans, and almost at the same moment, and on the opposite bank of the river, a fine buck made his appearance. The thought occurred that he might kill the pelicans and the buck at the same shot; accordingly he levelled and cocked his rifle, and as the pelicans floated in the range of the buck, he fired, and the pelicans and the buck fell, as a matter of course,

³⁰ Antti Aarne, *The Types of the Folk-Tale*, trans. Stith Thompson (FF Communications No. 74; Helsinki, 1928). For other versions, see R. M. Dorson, "Jonathan Draws the Long Bow," *New England Quarterly*, XVI (1943), 253-59; B. C. Clough (ed.), *The American Imagination at Work* (New York, 1947), pp. 31 f.; Richard Chase, "Jack's Hunting Trip," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, II (1938), 145-48; E. A. Collins, *Folk Tales of Missouri* (Boston, 1935), pp. 36-39; Masterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 f.; Herbert Halpert, "John Darling, A New York Munchausen," *JAF*, LVII (1944), 102 f.

³¹ Cf. E. C. Parsons, "Tales from Guilford County, North Carolina," *JAF*, XXX (1917), 190 f.; C. G. Loomis, "Hart's Tall Tales from Nevada," *California Folklore Quarterly*, IV (1945), 229; A. F. Fauset, "Negro Folk Tales from the South," *JAF*, XL (1927), 260.

for he never missed his aim. Being somewhat excited, he threw down his rifle and ran across the river, wishing to secure the buck first, which he did, by cutting its throat. Finding the ball had passed quite through the buck, and looking forward in the direction of the ball, he discovered a small stream of some liquid issuing from a bullet hole in a large tree, and after a nearer approach found it to be honey. Being still more excited by this discovery, in running toward the tree, he reached down for something to make a plug to stop the waste of honey, and catching up a rabbit instead of a piece of wood, and being vexed at the mistake, he threw the rabbit with such force as to kill fifteen partridges that were in a flock near by. Proceeding to the tree, he climbed and plugged the hole; then climbing a little higher, so that he could look down the inside, which was hollow, he missed his hold and fell to the bottom, on the inside, where to his utter astonishment, he found a huge bear, writhing in his blood, pierced through, while eating a delicious dinner, by the same ball that killed the buck and the pelicans. Now, thought Mr. Yurberg, how shall I get out? But the tree being old, he soon cut and broke through, and hauled out his bear and laid him by the side of the buck; and gathering up his rabbit and partridges, laid them on the pile. And now, having become a little more collected, he could not account for the manner in which he had crossed the river — for the Amite at that place was even navigable for small vessels. Upon examination, however, he found that he had crossed upon the vine of a pumpkin, and recrossing on the same bridge and walking some fifty rods further, he found a pumpkin growing, or grown, upon the vine, and in the inside found a sow and ten pigs, that had strayed away some two months before.^{32]}

16. "A WOLF HUNT"

This tall tale is attributed to "Old Sense," identified by Masterson as the Arkansas humorist Jim Mussett.³³

[Well, gents, one mornin, bright and arly, I mounted Sam, and blow'd up the hounds—and it takes a monstrous sight of blowin to git old Stormer started—for a wolf hunt. After surveyin round for some time, I seed Stormer begin to wag his tail. Sam seed it too, for he began to prance and cavort round mighty astonishin. Truth, gents; he knows and always sez "wolf" plain as any man can say it, when old Stormer wakes up. After smellin

³² *Weekly Picayune*, Aug. 16, 1841, p. 200.

³³ Masterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-74, prints several "Old Sense" pieces but not the *Wolf Hunt*.

round, the cussed old dog, as usual, tuck a seat rite on his tail, and commenced them long barks of hissen—sorter 'twixt a howl and a bark.

.

"Look out, wolf!" hollers I, when I got him started that mornin—for I knowed he was a gone wolf, cause old Stormer looked mity terminated, and he had his tail sot for a long run . . .

Gents' you must know, arter running in a wolf chace for some time, I've got in a way of fallin inter a kind of daze like—spose I hollers myself asleep, as I'm a buster at that game. But Sam never minds it, and always hugs the dogs as I've hearn tell of them ships huggin the wind, and when I wakes up I'm generally on his back. Arter hollerin purty considerable, I reckon, the mornin as I'se telling you of, I must have got a dozín, for, fust thing I know'd, I didn't hear the dogs runnin, and when I looked round to see if they were behind me, what do you spose I seed? Fact, gents, by gracious, as that dog could tell you if he could talk—there was the dead wolf, with his tail tied hard and fast to Sam's, and he was goin long home as if nothin had happened! Maybe you don't believe it—true as gospel. Sam had tuck the hint from my havin tied two deer to his tail, to swim across a bio, some three weeks afore. Lord knows how he tied the wolf there arter the dogs had killed it; though I surmise, if the truth was known, old Stormer hope him.^{34]}

17. "THE SPECTRE HUNTER"

The tale of the spectre hunter of Perdido appears to be a carefully contrived synthesis of two diverse motifs: a hunter's encounter with the Devil and a testing involving the recollection of songs. In a general way, the first motif fits the pattern of the "Wild Hunt" (Thompson E 501), for which a multitude of European examples exists; but the "Devil as a huntsman" (G 303.3.1.7)³⁵ is a more precise determination, even though the Perdido spectre is not identified as such in so many words. Al-

³⁴ *Weekly Picayune*, May 15, 1848, p. 163, credited to the *Caddo Gazette* (Shreveport).

³⁵ "Dando and His Dogs," printed by Robert Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* (London, [1865]), pp. 220-23, must be accounted an analogue of the first motif. The Devil as spectre hunter one day confronts Dando, a worldly priest given to hunting with horse and hound, and demands a share of his game. The priest angrily refuses and is carried off to hell. It is likely that such would have been the fate of Tom Poncho had he not been able to sing the songs as requested.

though the testing with life at stake is a familiar motif, I do not recall an instance in which the victim was required to sing for his life.

Whether the motifs were joined in America is not clear, although it is evident that special pains were taken to localize the situation. Indeed, the tale proper is prefaced by a very elaborate sketch of the raconteur, Francisco el Tomar or Tom Poncho, who had "walked, ridden and swam in every square mile of the Territory [of Florida], . . . besides many counties of Georgia and Alabama; in all which region he has enjoyed a high reputation for being a most expert hunter, a daring and excellent horseman. . . ." The attempt to achieve verisimilitude notwithstanding, the "little swart Spaniard," not more than "four feet six," is somewhat fabulous, and was probably translated to Florida from European tradition. The Gulf Coast setting of the story is plausible enough however, and the adapter must be credited with a skillful adjustment of an Old World tale to the American scene. The long sketch of the narrator has been omitted; the matter which follows is the story proper.

[It was on a warm and mild day in November, 18—, . . . when being with a party of amateur hunters . . . we had been driving Point Orno on the Alabama side of the Perdido. Two or three deer were jumped out of the hammocks, and one, a beautiful and stately buck, had taken the back track, running right away for the stands. As I was well mounted, I put after him at full speed, determined to run him down. At first, in the heat of the pursuit, I thought I heard sounds of hoofs beside those of my horse. But, supposing it might be the echo of the woods, I paid no attention to it, but kept my eyes fixed upon the movements of the deer, and heading my horse so as to cut him off from the Bayou Laanche, where I feared I might lose him. So well did I ride that day, that I never lost sight of my game till I had driven him on to the sea-beach, and found myself rushing after him at a killing pace along the hard white sand. I now felt sure of him, for I had him on a long stretch of twenty miles and on a narrow strip of sand-hills, with the Gulf on his left and the Twelve-Mile Lagoon on his right, and nothing between us and Mobile Point.

If he took the water it was an easy matter to kill or follow him. I resolved within myself that I would do something uncommon that day, and therefore made up my mind to catch him and kill him without a shot. I was soon enabled to execute my design,

for the buck, growing tired of flight alone, suddenly turned and plunged into the lagoon, at a place where the bank was some eight feet above the water. I was so close upon him, that as I took a plunge after him my horse's feet almost struck him as he rose and commenced swimming for the opposite shore. It was now, for the first time, that I perceived I was not alone in the pursuit. Directly behind me was a man on a powerful black horse, who had followed me in the plunge, and who seemed as eager as I to take the game. I did not stop to see who he might be. One thing I felt pretty sure of, that he was none of our party. His presence renewed my desire to take the deer, and I began in good earnest to make a lasso of my bridle.

As soon as I was ready to throw I waited for an instant, till the buck had neared the land, so as to touch his hind feet. The instant I saw it I put spurs to my horse, rushed right upon him, threw the lasso and had him safe enough. But now commenced the struggle and the danger. I knew as long as I could keep him in the water I should do very well, and so kept guiding my horse a little away from the land, keeping the animal in play. At length I drew my couteau, shortened the lasso, and leaping right upon the deer's back, cut his throat from ear to ear. A loud whoop, followed by an unearthly, but yet merry laugh, burst upon the stillness of the scene, and turning my eyes for a moment, I beheld my companion in the water, not far off, with his arms akimbo, indulging his mirth at the sport. I had no time for chat, however, for the deer was striving to gain the shore, though growing weak from bleeding. I did not choose to get a cut from his hoof or his horns, so I slipped from him and found myself only up to my neck in the water. To shorten this yarn, in five minutes more I had the deer and my horse both on dry land, and I commenced the operation of skinning and cutting up, determined to carry the horns, saddle, and skin back to camp. My companion, too, had landed, and approached my very frankly, but from the signs and winks he kept making to me, I presumed he was dumb; so, taking my cue from him, I soon got into conversation with him, and he seemed to applaud my exploit very warmly. I ought to tell you, though, that he was the most unearthly looking being I ever saw. He was very tall, very lank and pale; his cheeks were hollow, with high cheek bones, a little twinkling pair of grey eyes, and red, bristly hair. He was dressed in black, having a fur cap on his head, and a silver watch, chain and key. By his signs he

told me he was very thirsty and hungry, and I struck fire and set about cooking part of the deer for him. I pointed out where there was a fine spring of water, and he took his horse and went off towards it. I was so busy getting ready the "fixins" for a hearty meal that I did not perceive how long my new friend was absent, and when at length he returned the fore part of the venison was pretty well wasted. I was startled to see with him five others, whose figures were little calculated to afford confidence in their good intentions. They were more like pirates than any men I had seen since my trip to El Spirtu Santo, in 18—. They all had on red net caps, red flannel shirts and duck trowsers, and each man had a pair of pistols and a large knife in his belt.

Two of them now rolled forward a small keg, and other produced platters, drinking horns, & c., and in a few minutes we were all pell-mell, eating away at our supper. During all this, the black leader, or spectre, as I must call him, was communicating, by signs, to the company the great feat I had just performed; and I could see that it produced dark frowns and furious looks from the others, especially from one little fellow, who cursed me in bad Spanish. At last, having devoured the greater part of my buck, they commenced drinking stoutly from the little keg, and drinking led to singing songs, and the riot grew rapidly amongst them. Once or twice they started to their feet, drew their knives and pointed at me; but the leader, for the spectre evidently had great influence with them, made them sit down again. I felt anything but comfortable while all this was going on, but mustered up my courage and determination if I was to be killed that my trusty couteau should taste a few of their bloods. There was now a consultation among them by signs, and after a pause, one of the party told me in very good Spanish that I must sing a song for each of the company—that I must do it at once, singing whatever they called for, and that in that case, I should be permitted to go as I had come, across the lagoon; but, if I failed—he touched his knife and frowned like a thunder cloud.

Each one, in his turn, now called for a song, and thanks to my dear old luck, which never yet failed me in time of need, I was able to comply with the request and was heartily applauded. All had called upon me but the spectre leader, and he now rose with great gravity and breaking silence, thus addressed me, in

the genuine drawling, nasal whine of Yankee land: "You mister, I guess you can sing "Captain Goodlin"; now if you'll reel off the nineteen first verses, short metre, to the old tune, I'll let you off, this once, but grease my pictur, if you ever come into these diggins agin I'll nix mate you and no mistake."^{36]}

³⁶ *Weekly Picayune*, Jan. 9, 1843, p. 374.

18. "REMARKABLE ESCAPE"

[A frolicsome cabin boy, while on a recent passage from this city to New York, got headed up in a barrel, the bung only left open, as a punishment for some of his mad pranks. During a heavy sea the barrel washed overboard, but fortunately the hole remained uppermost, and after floating some day or two was washed ashore at Cape St. Blas. The boy now made every attempt to escape from the barrel without success. Fortunately some cows, strolling on the beach, were attracted to the cask, and in walking around it one of the number, it being fly time, switched her tail into the bung-hole, which the lad grasped with a desperate resolution. The cow bellowed and set off for life, and after running some two hundred yards with the cask, struck it against a log on the beach and knocked it as we say into a cock'd hat. The boy thus providentially released was discovered by some fishermen on the Point and taken into Apalachicola. . . .³⁷

19. "A FISH STORY"

[Once upon a time, when the packet ship Coriolanus was returning from Liverpool to New York, the carpenter . . . was taken sick, and after a brief illness expired on shipboard . . .

The usual preparations for a funeral at sea were made; the poor carpenter was sewed up in his winding sheet, and with him was put an old grindstone, hatchet and chisel, to carry him down

The poor boy [the carpenter's son] grew frantic when his father was about to be committed to the waves, and was obliged to be held off by the sailors. At length, just as the fatal lurch of the vessel was taking place, the boy, with the strength of a maniac, broke from the sailors, and dashed upon the body at the very

³⁷ *Weekly Picayune*, July 22, 1839, p. 85. The type of the miraculous extrication (Aarne 1875, Thompson X911) is widespread. Cf. R. S. Boggs, "North Carolina Folktales Current in the 1820's," *JAF*, XLVII (1934), 273 f.

For a recent version reported as actual fact under an Associated Press dateline, see the *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Nov. 22, 1949, p. 1.

moment that it was sliding over the ship's side. It was too late to save him, and clinging wildly to the dead body of his father, the hapless boy was seen to make one swift plunge . . . into the eternal caverns of the mighty ocean.

This was in lat. 97-long. 79, which was duly entered on the log book. The Coriolanus arrived at New York, completed all the business preparatory for her next trip, and sailed again for Liverpool.

When in lat. 69-long. 48, an enormous shark was caught, and when hauled upon deck a most extraordinary noise seemed to proceed from the huge monster's stomach. The creature was opened, and there was the father, the son, the grindstone, the hatchet and the chisel! The poor carpenter had not died, but was only in a trance when they buried him, and there he was sharpening his hatchet, while the son was turning the grindstone! They having just resolved to cut their way out of the shark's stomach!³⁸

20. "SOME SHAKING"

[The type of chills and fevers in Anne Arundel County, Md., is of rather a violent nature. An editor in that section speaks of a visit he had the other day from rather a queer genius, named Tom, when the following dialogue ensued:

"How do you do, old fellow?"

"Hallo, Tom," said we, "where have you been so long?"

"Why, sir, I have been down on Seven River in Anne Arundel county, taking Shanghai notes on the chills and fever."

"Ah, indeed," said we, "are they very bad down there?"

"Rather bad," said Tom drily. "There is one place where they have been trying to build a brick house for eight weeks—well, the other day, as the hands were getting up the bricks preparatory to finishing it, they were taken with a chill, and shook the whole building down, and kept on shaking till the bricks were dust of the finest quality! Just at this juncture, the chills came on with renewed force, and they commenced shaking up the dust with such a gusto that they were obscured for two hours, and the people of the neighborhood thought the sun was in an eclipse."

"Can't believe nothing like that, Tom."

"It's a fact," said Tom, and resumed: "There's a farmer down there, who, in apple-picking season, hauls his niggers out

³⁸ *Weekly Picayune*, Sept. 21, 1840, p. 124. This is of course the Jonah motif—F911.4.

to the orchard, and sets one up against each tree. In a short time the chill comes on and every apple in the orchard is shaken off the tree on to the ground."

"Incredible!" said we, holding our sides with both hands.

"Fact," said Tom, "they keep a man alongside of each negro, to take him away as soon as the fruit is all off, for fear he will shake the tree down."

Tom continued: "Mr. S—, a friend of mine, and a house carpenter, was engaged a few days ago in covering the roof of a house with shingles: Just as he was 'finishing,' the chill came on and he shook every shingle off the roof. Some of them are supposed to be flying about yet.

"Another gentleman near the same place was taken with a chill the other day at dinner, and shook his knife and fork down his throat, besides breaking all the crocker-ware on the table. His little son, who was sitting at the table at the same time, was taken with a chill and shook all the buttons off his inexpressibles, and then shook himself clear of them.^{39]}

21. THE PERSISTENT GOAT

[In a small town in that State [Georgia], an animal of the above species [goat] had become very obnoxious to the inhabitants, and they were determined to be revenged. Accordingly, a large wooden beetle was suspended to a tree, and the goat, on perceiving it, made a most furious charge, much to the amusement of the by-standers. At every surge the beetle would fly back, and on its approach to the horned warrior, he would be seen standing on his hind feet with his head bent forward, ready and eager to receive the assault. Things lasted in this manner nearly all day, and when night came, the citizens, convulsed with laughter, betook themselves to their homes, but the goat continued, as intent on vanquishing his supposed combatant as he seemed to be at the commencement. Hour after hour he battled at the wooden beetle, and the next morning, when Green passed the spot in order to have more sport, what d'ye think he saw? Why, nothing but the goat's

³⁹ *Sunday Delta*, Apr. 20, 1856.

tail! The animal had butted itself all away, and the tail was in a fair way of being used up from the desperate plunges it was making towards the suspended beetle!^{40]}

22. "A RAT STORY"

[This story⁴¹ brings to our recollection a well authenticated fact, which occurred at Newburyport, Mass., upwards of five and forty years ago. A brig arrived in that port: the owners, after taking out the cargo, had her moored off the wharf, with planks leading to the shore; a smoke was then made in the hold, which pervaded every part of the vessel; the rats took up their line of march for the shore, when to the astonishment of bystanders, there appeared among them one which was infirm, blind, and white from age, holding in his mouth a stick, each end of which was carried by another rat!^{42]}

23. "A TALL ONE"

[When I was at home, I found a cat one evening down by the road, and took it up to the house to keep. And such a cat! It weighed about ten pounds, and was as black as a Guinea nigger. It would go round the house me-you, me-you, until the old woman said I should drown it.

So one morning I caught Tommy and took him to the creek, and tossed him in. Without waiting to see the result, I started home. Next morning, on getting up, beheld Mr. Tommy seated on the porch, just starting his infernal me-you. I grabbed him before he could run, and taking him to the creek tossed him in. After watching for a while I went home, thinking I had sent the cat to kingdom come. Next morning, the first thing I saw was the cat seated on the porch, making the air resound with his noise. I took him, picked up the hatchet, and proceeded to the creek. Arriving there, I cut off his head and threw both parts in the water. I then went home, fully convinced that Mr. Tommy would not trouble us any more; but may I be blessed, next morning if he wasn't seated on the porch with his head in his mouth!^{43]}

⁴⁰ *Weekly Delta*, Feb. 1, 1847, p. 126. This yarn is attributed to "Green Johnson, the inimitable clown of Stone & McCollum's Great Western Circus."

⁴¹ An analogous yarn credited to the *Arena*.

⁴² *Picayune*, Feb. 15, 1837.

⁴³ *Carrollton Times*, Oct. 20, 1866. Cf. Thompson, *Body, Boots and Britches*, p. 150.

24. "A GOOD STORY"

A former judge noted for his shrewd dealing was seated in front of his country store boasting of his "cheats," when an old man interrupted:

["Judge," said an old man of the company, "I've cheated you more'n you ever did me." "How?" said the Judge. "If you'll promise you won't go to law about it, nor do nothing, I'll tell, or else I won't, you are too much of a law character for me." "Let's hear, let's hear!" cried half a dozen voices. "I'll promise," said the Judge, "and treat in the bargain if you have." "Well, do you remember that wagon you robbed me out of?" "I never robbed you out of any wagon," exclaimed the Judge, "I only got the best of a bargain." "Well I made up my mind to have it back, and—" "You never did!" interrupted the cute Judge. "Yes, I did, and interest, too." "How so?" thundered the now enraged Judge. "Well, you see, Judge, I sold you one day a very nice pine log, and bargained with you for a lot more. Well, that log I stole off your pile, down by your mill, the night before, and the next day I sold it to you. The next night I drew it back home, and sold it to you the next day; and so I kept on until you bought your own log of me twenty-seven times!" "Thar's a lie!" exclaimed the infuriated Judge, running to his books, and examining his log accounts; you never sold me twenty-seven logs of the same measurement." "I know it," said the vender in logs. "By drawing it back and forth the end wore off and, as it wore, I kept cutting the end off until it was only ten feet long—just fourteen feet shorter than it was the first time I bought it; and when it got so short, I drew it home again and worked it up into shingles, and the next week you bought the shingles, and then I concluded I had got my wagon back and stowed away in my pocket book."⁴⁴]

25. "AN ARITHMETICAL ACTUALITY"

[A fellow up town being a little 'short,' and a little dry, walked into a store and purchased a few crackers; before paying, seeing that the storekeeper had cider, he came to the sage conclusion that he was more dry than hungry, and asked permission to swap the crackers for the cider. Biting on the end of the cider with a smack of the lips, he turned on his heel and was opening

⁴⁴ *Carrollton Times*, June 11, 1864.

the door to go out, when the store keeper said: "Come, pay for the cider." "Didn't I swap the crackers for the cider?" said the other. "Well, then, pay me for the crackers," said the puzzled trader. "Haven't ye got them on the shelf? What are ye hindering me for, ye darned fool?" And off he went.⁴⁵

26. "WHISTLE HIM BACK YOURSELF"

[A man had received a large lot of fresh, lively lobsters, to which he seemed anxious to call attention of the passers-by. Among the lookers-on was a boy, accompanied by a quiet, sleepy looking dog. "I say, my lad," said the man with a waggish smile, to the lookers-on, "suppose you put your dog's tail between one of them lobster's claws." Agreed," said the boy. The peg was extracted from one of the finest and freshest, and the tail inserted. Away went the dog, howling at the squeeze his tail got from the lobster, and dragging the source of his misery with him. "Halloa! you young scamp, whistle your dog back," cried the man. "Whistle your lobster back," cried the boy, and absquatulated [sic]—while the crowd roared.⁴⁶]

27. "A SHARP BOY"

["Well, sonny, whose pigs are those?" "The old sow's, sir." "Whose sow is it?" "Old man's sir." "Well then, who is your old man?" "If you'll mind the pigs, I'll run home and ax the old woman." "Never mind sonny, I want a smart boy: what can you do?" "Oh, I can do more than considerable; I milks the geese, rides the turkeys to water, hamstrings the grasshoppers, lights fires for flies to court by, cuts the buttons off of dad's coat when he's at prayers, keeps tally for dad and mam, when they scold at a mark, the old woman is always ahead." "Got any brothers?" "Lots on 'em — all named Bill except Bob, and his name's Sam — my name is Larry, but they call me Lazy Lawrence just for short." "Well, you're most too smart for me." "Travel on, old stick in the mud, I shan't hire you for a boss to-day."⁴⁷]

⁴⁵ *Carrollton Times*, Nov. 14, 1863.

⁴⁶ *Carrollton Star*, Jan. 10, 1852.

⁴⁷ *Carrollton Star*, June 28, 1851. Despite modernization, this dialogue appears to be related to two ancient literary types. The prototype of the interlocutor is probably the Devil, who will make away with the boy if he can nonplus him; a comparable situation is represented in the ballad, *The False Knight upon the Road* (Child No. 3). The sequence of impossible or improbable acts by the boy recalls the "lying song," in English tradition at least as old as the fifteenth century. See G. L. Kittredge, "Note on a Lying Song," *JAF*, XXXIX (1926), 195-99.

28. "A TRAVELLER'S TRICK"

[During a period of very active opposition between rival coach proprietors, one coach stopped to breakfast; the repast was delayed, under various pretences, till the coachman's horn announced the moment of departure; in vain the passengers remonstrated against this precipitancy; he must drive to time and could not delay. When at length he had succeeded in getting his grumbling company together, one gentleman was found wanting; and on "mine host" opening the door of the breakfast room he found him quietly seated at the deserted table. "The coach will be off," exclaimed the landlord. "And so would I too, could I have got a spoon to eat my egg," replied the guest. "A spoon, sir?" "Yes, sir, a spoon." "Who, why, where are my spoons? Stop, stop coach; Jack, Pat, Joe, run every one of you; stop the horses—stop the coach till I get my spoons," vociferated the landlord; while struck with consternation, each passenger looked to his neighbor for an explanation of the scene. In a few minutes a crowd had collected around the carriage, to whom the robbery of the spoons was detailed, with the resolution of the host, that all the passengers should be searched with the assistance of his party. He was about commencing his operation, when out walked the dilatory passenger, who immediately demanded what was the matter. "Matter!" roared out the landlord, "have not I been robbed of a dozen of silver spoons by some of your rascally company—and your blackguard coachman is preventing me searching?" "Then drive on, Paddy—all's right," exclaimed the wag, and turning to the exasperated host he said, "look into the tea-pot for your spoons, and for the future make more haste with your breakfast."⁴⁸]

29. "A STEAMBOAT SAW"

[Some years ago a couple of steamboat captains, well known to all in the trade in all quarters of the West and South as a pair of the hardest and cleverest boys upon the river, were engaged in running their boats between New Orleans and Mobile. Things progressed very smoothly for a few weeks, but after a while prices began to lower. The regular fare was twelve dollars, but it was speedily reduced to less than half that sum.

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⁴⁸ *Picayune*, Feb. 15, 1837.

One day they happened to start together from the Pontchartrain depot. The captain of the Ohio [fictitious name assigned by the narrator who does not want to embarrass one captain who is still alive] found that his antagonist had taken passengers for ten dollars. From Mobile they both brought passengers for eight dollars. The spirit of competition was now fairly aroused, and they soon reduced the price to six, five, three and finally to two dollars. In this position affairs remained some time. By and by the two boats were advertised to start the same day from Mobile. The captain of the Ohio was astonished early in the morning to find that the bills of his rival offered to convey "passengers to New Orleans for the sum of \$1 in the cabin—50 cents on deck!"

"Well!" said he, on reading the bill, "this is carrying the joke a little too far; but I'll show him that I can carry passengers as low as anyone else."

On board he went, and in half an hour the bills of the Ohio were spread all over town, offering to take the passengers for fifty cents in the cabin and two bits on deck. The hour of starting approached and people commenced winding their way towards the landing. The captain of the Mississippi [the other boat] stood at the gangway as a knot of travellers came on board.

"Are you sure you'll go to-day, Captain."

"Oh yes, pretty sure; but I may be disappointed."

"Yes, but we must not be disappointed. If you are not certain that you will get off we must go on the other boat."

"You can do as you choose, gentlemen," said the Captain. "If your business is of such a nature that it cannot be delayed, perhaps you had better take the Ohio. I have no desire to deceive you — that is not my way of doing business."

A dialogue to about the same purport took place between the Captain of the Mississippi and all those who came on board. The consequence was that the Ohio was speedily crowded.

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"That will learn him," exclaimed he [the captain of the Ohio], "to offer to carry passengers for one dollar again."

"The moment the Ohio was fairly into the stream, . . . the Captain of the Mississippi ordered his fires to be extinguished, and other movements indicated that the boat would be pretty sure

to remain at the landing that day. The next morning the Ohio was advertised to leave at one o'clock P. M., for New Orleans. It was observed by some of those who felt interested in the matter that neither the bills or the advertisements named the price of fare. One by one passengers came straggling on board. To all questions with regard to the cost of passage, the reply was, "the regular price. Twelve dollars!" The Captain of the Mississippi well knew the morning before that there would be no boat the next day — he knew also that a convention would break up on the evening of the day the two boats had advertised to leave, and that if he could get the Ohio off he would have the whole road to himself the ensuing day, and the transportation of many of the delegates who resided in New Orleans. . . .⁴⁹]

30. "DRAWING A CHALK-LINE;
OR, RESERVING THE RIGHT OF PASSAGE"

A stalwart Kentuckian arrived in New Orleans for the purpose of studying medicine. At Charity Hospital he was assigned a room on the third floor which was also occupied by a young Frenchman, who greeted him somewhat coldly:

["Sir, I am indeed pleased to see you, and hope that we may prove mutually agreeable . . . ; I will inform you that I have had several former room-mates, with none of whom could I ever agree — we could never pursue our studies together. This room contains two beds; as the oldest occupant, I claim that nearest the window."

The Kentuckian assented.

"Now," says the Frenchman, "I'll draw the 'boundary line' between our territories, and we shall each agree not to encroach upon the other's rights," and taking a piece of chalk from his pocket, he made the mark of division, midway, from one side of the room to the other. — "Sir," he added, "I hope you have no objection to the treaty."

The Frenchman was soon deeply engaged; while 'old Kaintuck' was watching him, and thinking what a singular genius he must be, and how he might 'fix' him.

⁴⁹ *Daily Picayune*, June 11, 1842.

Thus things went on until dinnertime came. The bell was rung — the Frenchman popped up, adjusted his cravat, brushed up his whiskers and mustachios, and essayed to depart.

"Stand, sir!" said the stranger, suddenly placing himself with his toe to the mark, directly before the French student, "if you cross that line, by G—d, you're a dead man!"

The Frenchman stood pale with astonishment. The Kentuckian moved not a muscle of his face. Both remained in silence for some moments, when the Frenchman exclaimed, "Is it possible that I did not reserve the right of passage?"

"No, sir, indeed you did not; and you pass this line at your peril."

"But how shall I get out of the room?"

"There is a window, which you reserved for yourself—you may use that; but you pass not that door, which you generously left me."

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"Sir, in order that we may be mutually agreeable, I'll rub out that hateful chalk-line and let you pass."⁵⁰]

31. "THE ARKANSAS TRAVELLER"

Masterson calls the *Arkansas Traveler* the "most celebrated specimen of Arkansas folklore and humor,"⁵¹ and observes that it served as the title not only of a dialogue and a fiddle tune but also of two paintings, a number of engravings, and several plays. Of twelve published versions heretofore noticed, this example from the *Carrollton Times* most closely resembles that printed in 1876,⁵² which is thought to be a revision by the author, Col. Sanford C. Faulkner, of the lost first printing, dated between 1858 and 1860. The *Times* version, though furnished with an introduction not in the 1876 edition, lacks the music and numerous unimportant details. It is just about what a reporter with a good, but not perfect memory could be expected to recall from

⁵⁰ *Weekly Picayune*, July 26, 1841, p. 184.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 187 f.

oral recitation. That this version may have been obtained in this way is supported by the statement of B. S. Alford that Faulkner went to New Orleans and was there enthusiastically welcomed as the original "Arkansas Traveler," the governor even calling upon him at a banquet to play his celebrated tune.⁵³

In the earliest days of the Territory of Arkansas, when the settlements were few and far between, an adventurous traveller from one of the old States while traversing the swamps of the country, gets lost. After wandering till evening and despairing of finding a habitation, [he] strikes a trail that seemed to lead somewhere, and also heard in that direction the noise of a fiddle. Accordingly he takes the trail and soon discovers ahead of him, a light column of smoke, which came from the cabin of a squatter. As he approached, [he] found it to be a log cabin one side roofed, and the other only half covered with boards. He also seen [sic] the proprietor seated on a whiskey barrel playing a tune, or rather the first snatch of a tune, on an old fiddle.

After surveying the habitation and "cotton head" children, the traveller rides up to see if he can get lodging when the following dialogue ensued. The hoosier, however, continued to play the same part over and over again only stopping to reply to the traveler [']s queries:

Traveler. Good evening, sir.

Squatter. How'd ye do, sir.

Trav. Can't I get to stay all night?

Squat. No, sir.

Trav. Can't you give me a glass of something to drink? I am very wet and cold.

Squat. I drank the last drap this morning.

Trav. I am very hungry; haven't had a thing to eat to-day. Will you let me have something to eat?

Squat. Havn't a darned thing in the house.

Trav. Then can't you give my horse something?

Squat. Got nothing to feed him on.

⁵³ B. A. Botkin (ed.), *A Treasury of American Folklore* (New York, 1944), p. 346

Trav. How far is it to the next house?

Squat. Stranger, I don't know. I've never been there.

Trav. Well, where does this road go to?

Squat. It's never been anywhere since I lived here. It's always here when I get up in the morning.

Trav. As I am not likely to get to any other house tonight can't you let me sleep in yours? I'll tie my horse to a tree and do without anything to eat or drink.

Squat. My house leaks—there's only one dry spot in it, and me and Sal sleeps in that.

Trav. Why don't you finish covering your house and stop the leaks?

Squat. It's rainin'.

Trav. Well, why don't you do it when it is not raining?

Squat. It don't leak then.

Trav. Well, as you have nothing to eat or drink in your house and nothing alive about your place but children, how do you do here anyhow?

Squat. Putty well, I thank you; how dy'ye do yourself?

Trav. [after trying in vain all sorts of ways to extract some satisfactory information from him. — Editor's brackets]. My friend why don't you play the whole of that tune.

Squat. I didn't know there was any more to it. Can you play the fiddle stranger?

Trav. I play a little sometimes.

Squat. You don't look much like a fiddler [handing him the fiddle.] Play the balance of that tune.

The traveller gets down and plays the tune.

Squat. Stranger, come in. Take a half dozen chairs and sit down. Sal go round to the hollow, where I killed that buck this mornin, cut off some of the best pieces and fetch it and cook it for me and this gentleman directly. Raise up the board under the head of the bed, afore you go, and get the old black jug I had from Dick, and give us some whiskey; I know there's some left yet.

Dick, carry the gentleman's horse round to the shed and you'll find some fodder and corn there. Give him as much as he can eat. Darn me stranger, if you can't stay as long as you please, and I'll give you plenty to eat and drink. Hurry, old woman. If you can't find the butcher knife, take the cob handle or granny's knife. Play away, stranger. You shall sleep on the dry spot tonight.⁵⁴]

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⁵⁴ *Carrollton Times*, May 25, 1864; reprinted Apr. 17, 1867.

EDUCATION IN COLONIAL LOUISIANA

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The history of education in Colonial Louisiana is to be found in casual references to the schools contained in the better-known histories of the state, in university theses, in several rather thorough studies of the Ursuline Convent, and in manuscript records of the French and Spanish regimes, now housed in the Louisiana State Museum. The manuscript files just referred to have been tapped from time to time by students interested in education but have never been completely utilized. Beginning in 1946 the present writers began to photograph, translate, and interpret the most significant of these manuscripts. The results of our efforts, which continued through the next three years, are presented in five folders, now deposited in Howard-Tilton Library of Tulane University. Folder No. 1: "Education in Louisiana During the Colonial Period," is a brief narrative in which data for the schools have been assembled from all sources at present available, including the photographs and translated documents to be found in the remaining four folders, known as the "Supplement." Since these new materials have become available it is possible to prepare a somewhat more accurate and comprehensive account of the schools of this period than was heretofore possible. Such an account, in brief, is contained in the report which follows.

It is in order to speak of the first school in the Mississippi Valley. Fay, a recognized authority on the history of education in Louisiana, says: "It is affirmed, moreover, in 'The Ursulines in Louisiana,' page 4, that Father Cecil, a Capuchin monk, was the first person engaged in the instruction of boys in the colony, but the writer can not say on what authority this statement is based."¹

¹ Edwin M. Fay, *The History of Education in Louisiana* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1898), 10.

Fortier, the distinguished local historian, seems also to have consulted the same source as Fay for he writes: "At the time of the arrival of the Ursulines in New Orleans, the Capuchin Father Cécil is mentioned as a schoolmaster. He probably had a school for boys."² On this incident, Gayarré, the father of Louisiana history, and Martin, the most important of the earlier historians, strangely enough are silent. Not one of the history writers alluded to mentioned the date of the establishment of this early school, or gave additional particulars. The pioneer venture remained a mystery until the publication in 1929 of the correspondence between the Capuchin Father Raphael of New Orleans and the Abbe Raguét.³ Under date of September 15, 1725, Raphael reported to his superior officer as follows:

"I have just made an establishment for a little school [*un établissement pour un petit college*] at New Orleans. To direct it I have found a man who knows Latin, mathematics, drawing and singing [and] whose handwriting is fairly good He is of our order and left it through a thoughtlessness of youth."

The editors of the manuscript surmise in a footnote⁴ that the schoolmaster here referred to was Father Cecil. In this surmise they are probably correct.

That the institution here mentioned was actually established, a letter of Raphael, dated May 18, 1726, assures us: "I have done myself the honor, Sir," he writes, "to inform you by my preceding letter that I had established a small school at New Orleans. I have the honor to assure you that the studies are progressing very well there. The pupils are yet a small number but there are few young people in the colony. The majority of the inhabitants who are in a position to send their children to school are satisfied to have them taught to read and write and regard all the rest as useless. However, there are five or six of them who are pursuing other subjects and are succeeding wonderfully."⁵

But the school did not improve with time. On July 25, 1731, Father Raphael admitted the failure of the project and asked to be relieved of the financial obligations he had taken upon himself.⁶

² Alcée Fortier, *A History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New York, 1904), I, 108.

³ Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3 vols. (Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss., 1929), II.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 507, 509.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 519.

⁶ Letter of Father Raphael, July 25, 1731. Document No. 31-91. Noble and Nuhrab, "Education in Louisiana During the Colonial Period," 7, Howard-Tilton Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. Also photograph of the document, "Supplement No 3."

Although Father Raphael's *petit college* was short-lived, there can remain little doubt that such an institution was established in New Orleans in the year 1725. That it was the earliest school to be founded in the Mississippi Valley, as the editors of Raphael's correspondence suggest, is a more difficult matter to prove. We have, however, considerable evidence in support of the contention that it was. Its only competitor for this distinction, so far as our knowledge goes, was a Jesuit College said to have been established four years earlier at Kaskaskia, Illinois. The historian, Monette,⁷ is authority for the statement that the foundation for such an institution was laid at this early date but that author fails to cite the source of his information. We know that the trading post of that name had by 1720 taken on the characteristics of a permanent settlement and that the Jesuits founded there in that year the Church of the Immaculate Conception. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that a college may have been founded a year later. An important fact, however, points to the contrary. Most of the early records of the settlement seem to have been lost and historians generally do not corroborate the statement of Monette that such an establishment was made in 1721. Further, in the seventy-odd volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*, which recount in minute detail the movements of the reverend Fathers in the Mississippi Valley, no mention is made of the establishment of a college at Kaskaskia in 1721. At best, therefore, the claim of this institution to priority is subject to dispute. On the other hand, there seems to be little doubt as to Father Raphael's establishment of a school under the direction of Father Cecil at New Orleans, in 1725. Until a stronger case can be made out for Kaskaskia, we shall maintain that this was the first school to be opened in the Mississippi Valley.

Contrary to the general course of education in the English colonies, the schooling for girls was better than that received by boys who remained in Louisiana. The reasons for this unusual state of affairs can be discovered in the history of one of the most famous institutions in Louisiana,—the Ursulines' Convent—, which was the direct result of the philanthropic ideals of Governor Bienville and the work of an energetic Jesuit priest, Father Beaubois.⁸ Bienville had asked the aid of Father Beaubois in securing a group of Ursuline nuns to take care of the charity

⁷ John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley*, 2 vols. (New York, 1846), I, 164.

⁸ Father Beaubois was not liked by the Capuchin friars. See Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 521-23.

hospital and to educate the girls of the colony.⁹ The Jesuit regarded the Governor's proposal with so much favor that he personally made a trip to France where he convinced the Ursulines of the worthiness of his project.¹⁰

On September 13, 1726, a contract was drawn up between a small group of Ursuline nuns, most of them from Rouen, and the Company of the Indies. This contract was approved by Louis XV's royal patent or brevet on September 18, 1726.¹¹ The agreement or "treaty" described the duties of the nuns, placing special emphasis on their care of the sick and the poor. If they had the time and the resources, they might accept young ladies for boarders, but "no one of the Sisters appointed to the care of the sick is to be taken from that duty and assigned to the care and education of the boarders."¹² With the contract signed and ratified and their authorization from the Bishop of Quebec¹³ entered into the papers, the little band of nuns completed their preparations for the dangerous ocean voyage and then gathered in the Infirmary of Nuns at Hennebon, France, on January 12, 1727, to acknowledge Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin as their Superioress.¹⁴

Contrary winds delayed their ship, the *Gironde*,¹⁵ for one day but on February 23, 1727, they finally set sail on a voyage that was to take five adventure-filled months.¹⁶ On August 5 and 6,

⁹ Mrs. L. L. Emanuel, "Education in Colonial Louisiana" (M. A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1931), 87; Henry C. Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans* (New York, 1925), 4. According to the testimony of the Reverend Father Le Petit, S. J., even the "young French girls," before the advent of the Ursulines, "were in danger of being little better bred than slaves." *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰ Convincing the Ursulines that they should come to Louisiana was not difficult, but securing permission from the higher church officials was far from easy. Mother Marie Tranchepain, who became head of the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans, described the trials faced by Father Nicholas Ignatius de Beaubois in touching fashion: "This Reverend Jesuit Father, animated with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, came from New Orleans to France to obtain an establishment of his order and of the Ursuline Nuns for the education of youth. God blessed his good intentions by enabling him to succeed completely in his undertaking, notwithstanding a host of crosses and oppositions which he had to suffer from the persons most necessary to his work." Mere Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Account of the Voyage of the Ursulines to New Orleans in 1727*, translated by John Dawson Gilmory Shea, "from the edition of the original manuscript printed in Shea's Cramoisy Series, New York, 1859" (n. p., n. d.), 2.

¹¹ Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 10.

¹² Tranchepain, *Voyage of the Ursulines*, translated by Shea, 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁵ Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 11; Emanuel, "Education in Colonial Louisiana," 87-88.

¹⁶ The vessel scarcely had left port when it struck a rock, fortunately without doing great damage to itself. See Tranchepain, *Voyage of the Ursulines*, translated by Shea, 3-4. All of the nuns suffered from sea sickness as did most of the passengers, but no deadly disease visited the voyagers. During the course of the voyage, one pirate vessel and another suspicious craft were sighted, but neither ship molested the *Gironde*. *Ibid.*, 6-7. After months of sailing, the *Gironde* reached Biloxi where it took on water, food, and supplies. Most of these items were lost when the ship again ran aground after leaving Biloxi. Even the baggage of passengers was thrown overboard in order to lighten the vessel. It was refloated, still miraculously sound, and continued on its way. Due to a shortage of water, there was great suffering from thirst. Finally, on July 23, 1727, Balize, the port at the mouth of the Mississippi, was reached. The nuns now took small boats for a fourteen-day trip up the river to New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 9-12.

1727, the long-awaited Sisters of St. Ursula entered New Orleans where they received a joyous welcome from the townspeople and from Father Beaubois, who had preceded them to the capital.¹⁷ Those of the nuns who wrote letters to relatives back home were optimistic about the little town which was to be their new residence, but a more cynical eyewitness, disgusted with the everlasting mud, stagnant water and stinging insects, described New Orleans "as presenting 'no better aspect than that of a vast sink or sewer'."¹⁸

Without waiting for a period of adjustment to the new country, Mother Tranchepain and her workers immediately set up their first convent in the two-story brick mansion of former Governor Bienville.¹⁹ Situated in what is now the heart of the city, the imposing house served its purpose well. No trace of it remains today, but it was located in the square bounded by Bienville, Conde (now Chartres), Customhouse (later Douane), and Old Levee (now Decatur) streets.²⁰ The hospital was put into good order, works of charity were performed, and in many ways the nuns endeared themselves to the people. Parents anxious for the moral and intellectual well being of their daughters expressed heartfelt thanks for the presence of the Ursulines who proposed to set up a school for young ladies. Although their other duties must have been heavy, they did not waste their opportunity to commence a program of vitally needed schooling for girls. In less than a year's time, the Ursulines had twenty young ladies as boarders at their convent.²¹ The poor and the lowly were not overlooked by the hard-working teachers at the convent. On January 1, 1728, one of the younger Sisters, Marie Magdeleine Hachard de St. Stanislas, wrote to her father: "'We keep also a school to instruct the negro and Indian girls and women; they come every day from one o'clock in the afternoon to half-past two.'"²²

In this same year, the little religious community was disturbed by the rivalry between the Jesuits, their guides and protectors, and the Capuchins. Governor Périer valued the Ursulines'

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁸ Mary Teresa Austin Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana, 1727-1824* (New Orleans, 1886), 10.

¹⁹ Tranchepain, *Voyage of the Ursulines*, translated by Shea, 1.

²⁰ Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 12. More specifically, the convent was on the corner of Chartres and Bienville. See Emanuel, "Education in Colonial Louisiana," 88-89.

²¹ Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 14.

²² Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 199. In another letter to her father, Sister St. Stanislas informed him that "'We have also seven slave boarders to teach and prepare for Baptism and First Communion.'". Sister St. Stanislas to her father, April 24, 1728, *Ibid.*, 230.

contributions too highly to stand by idly while their security and peace of mind were threatened. In a letter to the Abbe Raguet, dated August 14, 1728, he wrote:

The Reverend Father Raphael is still very cold toward Father DeBeaubois who on his side has done everything that he ought to have done in order to be on good terms with the Superior of the Capuchins. I doubt that they will ever become great friends. What pains me in this misunderstanding is that the Ursuline nuns suffer from it. As they are directed by Father De Beaubois[,] Mr. De La Chaise [the Commissary of the King] who does not like him deflects upon them the trouble that he would like to make that priest experience.²³

Toward the close of 1729, about two years before Louisiana became a royal colony of the French king, a major disaster rocked the colony and threw factional discord into the background where it was temporarily forgotten. The Natchez Indians, smarting under real and fancied injustices dealt them by the French, seized Fort Rosalie by trickery and brutally slaughtered the white males. Many children in New Orleans were left orphaned by this blow and the Ursulines held open their arms of mercy to them. Thus it was that in one year there was a great increase in the number of girls boarding at the convent.²⁴ The French government aided the Ursulines by giving them money for the maintenance of these children.²⁵

It was clear by now that the present quarters were too small, but the nuns had to wait until July, 1734, before they could move into their new and more spacious convent.²⁶ Preparations for the building of this convent had been going on even before the Ursulines set foot in New Orleans,²⁷ but it took seven years to complete the construction. The new convent was located on the square bounded by Ursuline, Old Levee, Hospital, and Conde streets, at the other end of town from the former convent.²⁸ Although the

²³ Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 588.

²⁴ Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 15-16, 19.

²⁵ Emanuel, "Education in Colonial Louisiana," 90.

²⁶ Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 22.

²⁷ Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 537. Périer and De La Chaise, on March 25, 1729, had written to the Directors of the Company of the Indies: "Master Mikel, who has undertaken the building of the Ursuline convent, has his timber all ready and is going to bring it here some day soon in order to put up these buildings at once. The casement doors and the rest of the joiner's work will also be ready since it has been a year since they were begun. In spite of that we do not think that it is possible to provide them lodgings in it before nine or ten months, no matter how diligent we may be." *Ibid.*, 681.

²⁸ Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 16.

Ursulines abandoned this structure in 1824 for more modern quarters, it still stands, massive in spite of decay, and honored with the title, "the oldest house in the Mississippi Valley."²⁹

The respect and admiration accorded the Ursulines by the colonists seemed to have been shared by the French king,³⁰ although the Company of the Indies, with its eye on the necessity of making profits, did not allow emotions to blunt its monetary desires.³¹ Praise alone was not enough to operate a flourishing convent and the records show that the question of funds was always an important one. Besides a liberal annual appropriation by the home government,³² the institution drew a modest income from student fees.³³ Some of the nuns obtained regular support from parents or relatives and no doubt applied at least part of the money to the cause for which they worked.³⁴ Heavy labors, together with the ravages of time and disease, thinned the ranks of the original group of nuns. Mother Tranchepain died on November 11, 1733,³⁵ and thirty-three years later, the last surviving member, Marie Anne Le Boulanger (Sister St. Angelica), passed away.³⁶

In spite of these deaths and the property losses suffered in the great fire of 1788, the Convent flourished, increasing its boarders and extending its works of charity.³⁷ Don Louis Maria de

²⁹ Charles Dimitry, "The Oldest House in the Mississippi Valley," *Southern Bivouac*, II (January, 1887), 457; M. J. Kennedy, "First Girls' School in Ursuline Convent," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, Magazine Section, November 28, 1926, p. 5. Father Semple declares that "Their convent is unique also as being the oldest institution of learning for women in the present territory of the United States." Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, xi. See also *Ursuline Academy on the River Front in the Lower Limits of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1900), 3.

³⁰ Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, III, 542. Memoire of the king to serve as instructions for Sieur de Bienville, February 2, 1732: "It [Ursuline Convent] may be of great usefulness to the colony when its intentions are followed out exactly." *Ibid.*

³¹ Minutes of the Directors of the Company of the Indies, meeting held in Paris, June 3, 1729, Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, II, 656: "The Company having permitted in 1728 the shipping on the vessel *Dromadaire* of four cases of earthenware belonging to the Ursulines of New Orleans on condition that they should pay freight for them which amounts to two hundred and fifty livres and these nuns having stated that this earthenware was the remainder of their property for which the Company had granted them free transportation, it was decided to ask them nothing for this freight on condition that nothing more should be shipped for them on the Company's vessels except for pay."

³² In 1740, this governmental support amounted to 12,000 livres. Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 18.

³³ Records of the Superior Council, No. 2110, July 29, 1737. In August, 1777, the Ursulines sued Pedro E. Derneville for failing to pay the room and board of his two daughters. See Spanish Judicial Records, No. 3608, August 4, 1777. In succeeding footnote references to the Superior Council and Spanish Judicial Records, photographs of the original documents along with translations will in most cases be found in Noble's and Nuhrah's collection. *Supra* footnote (6).

³⁴ Spanish Judicial Records, No. 10711, June 18, 1770.

³⁵ Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 20.

³⁶ Sister St. Angelica died on June 29, 1766. *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁷ Guy Mitchell, "Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana" (Unpublished dissertation, Michigan University, 1946), 13.

Peñalver y Cárdenas, who was made the first bishop of New Orleans, on December 18, 1793,³⁸ made a careful study of education in Louisiana and in lengthy letters offered full praise to the Ursulines' school. In a letter to the Spanish court two years after his elevation to the post of bishop he wrote:

"Excellent results are obtained from the Ursuline Convent in which a good many girls are educated. . . . This is the nursery of those future matrons who will inculcate in their children the principles which they here imbibe. The education which they here receive is the cause of their being less vicious than the other sex."³⁹

Under Spanish rule, the personnel of the Convent remained high in quality but it changed in nationality. By 1800 there were more Spanish nuns than those of French blood. This fact, plus the fears that the revolutionary government in France would injure them, led to a withdrawal of sixteen out of twenty-five sisters when news came that Spain had ceded the province to France.⁴⁰ In spite of all the entreaties by town officials and the personal assurances of Laussat, the French Prefect,⁴¹ the frightened Ursulines set sail in the spring of 1803 for Spanish possessions.⁴² The losses did not wreck the work of the Convent because replacements were obtained and at the time the United States took over the territory of Louisiana, there were 170 boarders under the care of the sisters.⁴³

In the muddy swamps which surrounded New Orleans lurked disease and death which baffled the crude and superstitious doctors of the eighteenth century; hence, fevers and other deadly maladies carried many youthful parents to the grave and orphaned those of their children who survived the perils of wilderness life. In order to provide proper care for such unfortunate children, laws were promulgated which required that relatives or

³⁸ Semple, *Ursulines in New Orleans*, 284.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 52; Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 21.

⁴⁰ Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 24-25.

⁴¹ *Ursuline Academy*, 3.

⁴² Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 24-25.

⁴³ Dimitry, "Oldest House in the Mississippi Valley," *Southern Bivouac*, II (January, 1887), 458. The future seemed bright, especially after the Ursulines received assurances from President Jefferson and from James Madison that their contribution to society had been noticed with gratitude by the American government which would allow them to operate in perfect freedom and security under the guarantees of the Constitution. See *Ursuline Academy*, 4-5.

friends assume the responsibility of rearing them. One of the earliest documents containing some information about the duties of tutors in Louisiana is dated January 16, 1720.⁴⁴ Widows sometimes requested, as did Marie Therese Legrand in 1725, that tutors and under tutors be appointed for their minor children.⁴⁵

By the 1730's the selection of tutors had become a solemn legal ceremony accompanied by set forms and much ritual witnessed by all the available members of the family.⁴⁶ Oaths were made and these could be broken only by formal petition to the legal authorities of the colony. Sometimes the tutor or tutrix proved harsh or irresponsible and the child suffered. One of the most interesting cases of this nature arose in the spring of 1739 when the tutrix of Marie Jeanne Coupert abused and beat her fourteen-year-old charge. Marie wrote a letter to one of the highest officials in the colony, pleading that she be placed in the Ursuline Convent where she would be well treated and taught her catechism and religion.⁴⁷ Perhaps to lessen the evils in the tutorship system, the royal government in France proclaimed an ordinance which required tutors to supervise the education of minors in their care.⁴⁸

If there were children by a previous marriage, certain explicitly stated responsibilities devolved upon the husband and wife—responsibilities that were written into the marriage contracts by the established church. As is still the custom at the present time, the parents promised to rear the children in the Roman Catholic faith. In addition, both of them solemnly agreed that the education of the children of a previous marriage would be paid for out of the joint material resources of both. Without doubt this provision in marriage contracts helped reduce the chances of a husband's casting out his wife's children from a former marriage. Through the agency of marriage contracts, then, the Church provided for the spiritual and intellectual guidance of its youngsters.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Records of the Superior Council, Document No. 20-1, January 16, 1720.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Document No. 25-265, July 12, 1725.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Document No. 31-118, December 20, 1731; Document No. A-34.9, August 19, 1734; Document A-35, September 5, 1735.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Document No. 11541, May 7, 1739. The kind-hearted official gave the letter to the proper authorities and the child's plea was apparently heeded.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Document No. D-41-205-A, October 1, 1741.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Document No. 9608, October 8, 1733; Document No. 1900, October 4, 1736; Document No. 11151, March 14, 1738; Document No. 1949, August 1, 1766.

Edgar W. Knight, in *A Documentary History of Education in the South*, I (1949), furnishes numerous evidences of the practice of apprenticeship in the South Atlantic Colonies. These he traces to a common origin in the English Statute of Artificers (1562) and in "An Act for the Relief of the Poor" (1601). Knight quite properly interprets the practice as an early form of public education, designed particularly for the benefit of the poor, orphan and illegitimate children. Here, in eighteenth-century Louisiana, we find substantially the same apprenticeship system, though traceable to origins in Continental Europe. In both areas we find that the masters were required to teach their apprentices their respective trades, and, later in the colonial period, they were expected to provide opportunities for their charges to learn reading and writing.

One who examines the colonial records with care cannot escape the feeling that the poorer youth of Louisiana would have been virtually bereft of any secular training without the existence of a remarkably developed system of apprenticeships. It was, as Emanuel points out in her thesis, one solution to the problem of education for boys.⁵⁰ Almost every conceivable trade from that of locksmith⁵¹ to that of barber and "frizzler"⁵² could be learned. Race or condition of servitude was no bar to the benefits of the system. In 1727, Laurent Chevirty, a locksmith, agreed to teach his trade to a slave apprentice who was owned by the Company of the Indies.⁵³ Thirteen years later, François Brunet, a blacksmith, made an agreement to teach blacksmithing to the Negroes of Messrs. Assailly and Daunous for four years at a cost of 150 livres.⁵⁴

In some cases the master paid a small salary to the apprentice; this was particularly true where the beginner was an adult or had a family to support. The provisions of the civil laws governing apprenticeships must have been detailed and specific because most of the contracts described carefully the duties and obli-

⁵⁰ Emanuel, "Education in Colonial Louisiana," 97. The author is in error when she states that the apprenticeship system was developed around 1740. It was in operation certainly as early as 1730. Mitchell, "Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana," 5-6, gives 1738 as the start of the system.

⁵¹ Records of the Superior Council, No. 27-190, Apprenticeship Contract, October 5, 1727.

⁵² *Ibid.*, No. 25102, Apprenticeship Contract, August 31, 1744.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, No. 27-190, Apprenticeship Contract, October 5, 1727.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, No. C40-94, Apprenticeship Contract, April 26, 1740. Juana, a Negress slave, with the consent of her master, apprenticed her son to a shoemaker. Spanish Judicial Records, Document No. 141, Box 26, File 10818, pp. 97349-97351, Apprenticeship Contract, December 28, 1770.

gations of both parties to the contract. The cost of training might range all the way from providing food and clothing⁵⁵ to cash fees of several hundred livres per year.⁵⁶

A very significant fact is that the master sometimes agreed to teach reading and writing to the youngster in his charge. The earliest record of this is to be found in the Records of the Superior Council for the summer of 1740. Madame Marie Ann Hoffman petitioned the Council to cancel the apprenticeship of her young Negro slave to M. Dupare who had failed to teach the boy to read and to write.⁵⁷ Another disgruntled citizen sued a master cooper, alleging that the latter did not properly teach his son the trade.⁵⁸ A rather unique case is that of Juan Itier, a shoemaker, who did not know his trade well, and, as a result, "agreed" (whether voluntarily or by compulsion is not made clear) to apprentice himself to a more capable cobbler in order to perfect his skill.⁵⁹ Apparently the authorities would not tolerate the production of shoddy goods.

Unless a boy were an orphan completely alone in the world, the law required that an adult act for him in handling the contract. There was nothing dishonorable in being apprenticed and we find mothers⁶⁰ as well as fathers⁶¹ apprenticing their children. If circumstances made it necessary, a guardian or tutor or step-parent had the power to apprentice a minor.⁶² The length of training was generally three or five years.⁶³

⁵⁵ Sometimes the apprentice, or the one apprenticing him to the master, would furnish the apprentice's clothing and food. Jean Germain Etier's uncle agreed to give the boy's master 400 pounds of flour for his meals. See Records of the Superior Council, No. 7482, Apprenticeship Contract, July 23, 1759. In the case of Jean Baptiste Leonard, the master furnished him with food, board, and clothing. *Ibid.*, No. 7137, Apprenticeship Contract, January 24, 1758.

⁵⁶ Jacques Nicolas, a gunsmith, agreed to teach his trade to August Langlois for five years and to clothe, feed, and take care of him for a total sum of 300 livres. *Ibid.*, No. 30817, Apprenticeship Contract, March 20, 1748. Pierre Fabre, jailor of the military prison, paid 300 livres to have his son taught the trade of cooper. *Ibid.*, No. 8063, Apprenticeship Contract, January 11, 1762. Maurice L'Eveque asked 1,500 livres to teach shoemaking to François Tircuit for five years. *Ibid.*, No. 8222, Apprenticeship Contract, July 12, 1762.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, No. D41-160, August 9, 1741. This document is exceedingly valuable not only because it illustrates vividly how education might be imparted through the apprenticeship system, but also because it offers some proof that Negro slaves were sometimes educated in colonial Louisiana.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 8633, Apprenticeship Contract, February 28, 1764.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 10612, Apprenticeship Contract, November 17, 1738.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 3798, Apprenticeship Contract, April 15, 1744; No. 9016, Apprenticeship Contract, June 13, 1765.

⁶¹ One youth was apprenticed by his stepfather. See *ibid.*, No. 3659, Apprenticeship Contract, July 23, 1742. Another was apprenticed by his uncle. See *ibid.*, No. C40-129, Apprenticeship Contract, May 22, 1740. August Langlois' tutor handled his contract. See *ibid.*, No. 80819, Apprenticeship Contract, March 13, 1747. In one case a grandfather apprenticed his grandson. See *ibid.*, No. 9966, Apprenticeship Contract, October 20, 1766.

⁶² At this point a list of the different trades found in the records might be of interest to the reader. The authors found the following mentioned: Armourer, barber, blacksmith, carpenter, coachmaker, cobbler, cooper, frizzler, gunsmith, locksmith, mason, roofer, saddle-maker, slater, tailor, tanner, and wigmaker. Sometimes several trades were listed together. Examples are as follows, Carpenter and mason; mason, roofer, and slater; roofer and slater; barber and frizzler; tanner and cobbler.

Until Don Armesto arrived in 1772 to set up a public school, boys had to depend almost entirely on private schools or tutors, military instruction, and apprenticeship training. One of the earliest private schools was run by J. Sautien.⁶⁴ Various small private schools continued to appear here and there in Louisiana, especially after the refugees from Santo Domingo began to offer their teaching services in the 1790's.⁶⁵ The evidence of private tutors is scattered throughout the records of early Louisiana. One of these tutors who was active during the Spanish period was Pedro Flouard.⁶⁶ On July 5, 1794, Governor Carondelet wrote a long letter to Don Louis de las Casas, in which he discussed the shortcomings of education in Louisiana and described the use of tutors by the French inhabitants.⁶⁷

For those who preferred the military profession, there were opportunities both for actual service in forts or in forays against the Indians. In order to make soldiers and officers more proficient in their line of work a definite program of military education was developed and the sons of officers were required to train as cadets in New Orleans. Whether or not there were schools for military training in New Orleans prior to the Spanish domination is not certain, but there is no doubt about the Spanish emphasis on such training. In May, 1791, Governor Miro wrote that the school for cadets had been suspended for lack of a teacher.⁶⁸ Captain Francisco Duberges of Pensacola humbly petitioned the government at New Orleans not to compel his son to come to New Orleans to receive a military education. He promised to train the boy himself and send him to the city periodically to take his tests.⁶⁹ In 1793 there was a school at Pensacola and it was run by a sergeant under the direction of Captain Don Juan Dominguez.⁷⁰

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 13890, March 28, 1740.

⁶⁵ Emanuel, "Education in Colonial Louisiana," 110.

⁶⁶ Spanish Judicial Records, Document No. 3599, May 14, 1779. For information about a French tutor active in the 1730's, see Records of the Superior Council, Document No. 11559, January 27, 1738.

⁶⁷ Governor Carondelet to Don Louis de las Casas, July 5, 1794, "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana El Baron de Carondelet," Book IV, August, 1793-September, 1794, pp. 377-380. Governor Carondelet remarked: "They find the necessity of being forced to adopt the means whereby they take the first Frenchman, that comes along, into their homes, although he can barely read and write and they make him tutor of their children and overseer of their plantation, paying him 100 pesos yearly with board and room, or a fifth of the harvest." *Ibid.*, 379.

⁶⁸ Governor Estevan Miro to Don Louis de las Casas, May 22, 1791, "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana," Book 5, Vol. XXIV, 10.

⁶⁹ Captain Duberges to the Inspector, December 24, 1792, "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana, El Baron de Carondelet," II, August, 1792 to February, 1793, p. 446.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 447. Two years earlier, Governor Miro had urged rejection of Pensacola's request for a school, on the grounds that it would be too expensive. Miro to de las Casas, July 15, 1791, "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana," Book 5, Vol. XXIV, 48.

Two things showed very definitely the need for more schools in Louisiana. One of these factors was the census of 1766 which revealed that there were now 2615 children in Louisiana, most of them in New Orleans.⁷¹ The other factor was the famous lists of inhabitants taking the oath of allegiance to the king of Spain. At least sixty per cent of those who took the oath could not sign their own names.⁷² Attempts to set up colleges and seminaries rarely passed beyond the planning stage or else were abortive. In 1772, a Spanish priest, two assistants, and four young women (candidates for the Ursuline Order) came from Havana in order to teach the Spanish language.⁷³ Their efforts came to naught because of many reasons, one of the most important of which was the reluctance of the people to give up their native tongue. As a result, few Louisianians were entering the priesthood and Spanish authorities began to ask for the establishment of a seminary in New Orleans.⁷⁴ In 1796, the Spanish king indicated that he wished to establish a college in Louisiana,⁷⁵ and Carondelet offered the opinion that it could succeed only if it taught navigation, designing, mathematics, and English in addition to preparing for the priesthood.⁷⁶

At the Peace of Paris (signed February 10, 1763) which ended the Seven Years' War, France gave up Canada and all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except the Isle of Orleans, to England. To her ally, Spain, she gave the Isle of Orleans and the rest of her great domain in Louisiana. With the advent of Spanish rule, His Majesty, Charles III, undertook to establish in Louisiana under lay leadership and largely for secular purposes, a system of public schools. To those unfamiliar with the incident, and accustomed to seek the sources of American educational history in French, English, or German literature, this announcement may provoke surprise. The circumstances, however, are well authenticated:⁷⁷ The Spanish monarch in 1771 resolved to establish schools in the province "in order that the Christian doctrine, elementary education, and [Latin] grammar" might be taught.

⁷¹ Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (3rd. ed., New Orleans, 1885), II, 133.

⁷² Spanish Judicial Records. Document No. 1-A, Oaths of Allegiance to Spain, 1769; "Supplement," Folder No. 4.

⁷³ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (2nd. ed., New Orleans, 1879), III, 47.

⁷⁴ Eugenio de Llaguno to Bishop Louis, November 19, 1795. "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana, El Baron de Carondelet," Vol. XI, 1794, pp. 487-88.

⁷⁵ Bishop Louis to Carondelet, March 18, 1796, *ibid.*, 486.

⁷⁶ Carondelet to Bishop Louis, June 9, 1796, *ibid.*, 489-91.

⁷⁷ David K. Bjork (ed. and translator), "Documents Relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana, 1771," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (March, 1925), 561-69.

That Charles had in mind the promotion of civic as well as religious ends seems clear. The avowed purpose, of course, was service to the Church, but the teachers bound themselves by contract to safeguard the interests of the state as well. Observe the significance of the following:

"And since we [teachers] all are taking up our work in an unimproved field, uniting our powers, we shall apply ourselves in the beginning to teaching the first pupils the Spanish language, the rudiments of religion, and Christian piety, and to inspiring in the minds of all principles of love, respect and obedience to our Sovereign."⁷⁸

A copy of the contract, together with the orders establishing a public school, were forwarded in a letter of Arriaga, Minister of the Indies, to Governor Unzaga.⁷⁹ Accompanying the Royal Order was the king's explanation that his desire to further the glory of God had led him to establish schools.⁸⁰

The lengthy contract consisted of twelve articles containing detailed rules and instructions setting forth the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of these first public school teachers in Louisiana. Article One required each teacher to remain on the job at least fifteen years and at the end of that time a return to Spain would be granted, if the teacher had done his work well. The second article provided for a teacher's family in case of his death, and the following article supplied the money necessary for clothes, transportation, and support while awaiting a ship to the colony. The next article provided for all expenses incurred on the voyage, and the fifth arranged the times at which they were to receive their salaries. They could not, according to Article Six, accept favors, fees, or gifts from pupils' parents, nor could they tutor anyone but the children of the Governor. Article Seven made Don Francisco de la Colina y Escudero a teacher of elementary education at 700 pesos a year. Article Eight gave an equal salary to Don Manuel Diaz de Lara, teacher of Latin grammar, and the ninth provided a yearly income of 700 pesos to Don Pedro Aragon y Villegas, the teacher of syntax, sentence,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 566.

⁷⁹ Arriaga to Unzaga, July 17, 1771, *ibid.*, 561.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 562. The motives of the Spanish Crown were not altogether altruistic because the documents available prove that the primary goal was to develop obedient, loyal, grateful subjects through the medium of education and the Spanish language.

and good translation of Latin. As Director of Public Schools, Don Armesto was to prescribe for teachers the methods and rules for literary exercises and piety, watch over the progress of pupils and the conduct of teachers, and fill their vacancies in case of illness or accident. He was to receive 1,000 pesos a year. Article Eleven listed other duties of the Director, such as taking care of and preserving library books, preventing their loss, and taking regular inventory of them. The final article ordered that the Spanish language and respectful obedience to the King be taught.⁸¹ Following the contract was a list of books to be used in the proposed school and its library; Armesto was also authorized to sell a few of them at cost to the students.⁸²

Don Armesto came to New Orleans in 1772 as director of public schools, but the school he set up did not flourish. "The French population . . . did not take kindly to the idea of sending their children to receive instruction in Spanish, Latin, and religion, from Spanish teachers, and Governor Luis de Unzaga found difficulty in securing patronage requisite to the operation of the schools."⁸³ Much credit must be given the Spanish government for continuing to offer generous support to Armesto, in spite of its own mistakes and the disheartening obstacles it met.⁸⁴ On April 1, 1788, Governor Miro wrote his famous dispatch to the home government, in which he described in pessimistic terms the state of education in Louisiana. He complained that the parents would not send their children to the Spanish school, but maintained eight of their own with approximately 400 pupils attending.⁸⁵ Even the elements seemed to be conspiring against the Spaniards, because in 1788 a fire destroyed the schoolhouse. It should be replaced, urged Galvez, by a \$6,000 building.⁸⁶

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 566.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 568.

⁸³ Stuart G. Noble, "Early School Superintendents in New Orleans," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXIV (November, 1931), 274; Mitchell, "Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana," 10-11. Bjork succinctly sums up the situation in the following words: "As late as 1788 . . . the effort to introduce the Spanish language in Louisiana had remained a practical failure." Bjork, "Documents Relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana, 1771," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (March, 1925), 562.

⁸⁴ François X. Martin, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1882), 242. A census taken by Governor Galvez in 1785 showed that \$1,750 were spent for teachers' salaries that year. *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 2nd. ed., III, 264-206.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

An exact picture of the operation of Armesto's school may never be obtained, but all authorities are agreed on two points: Only one school was set up and it led a "fitful existence" until 1803;⁸⁷ it failed to satisfy the high expectations placed in it or to achieve its objectives.⁸⁸ Doubtless had the Spanish Crown placed larger sums at the disposal of the colonial government for the purpose of establishing elementary schools in various parts of the colony, and had it been less stubborn in its insistence that the Spanish language be taught, the story might have had a happier ending. As matters stood, those who planned to establish settlements in Louisiana were obliged to set up their own schools and to give earnest assurances of their love for the Spanish tongue. Joseph Piernas desired to establish a settlement on the Calcasieu River in 1795. He promised to select several Catholics to instruct the settlers, to build a church where a priest might teach the Holy Sacraments, and to see that the Spanish tongue was taught. In addition, he promised that as soon as the colony was large enough, he would build a schoolhouse and employ a "learned" Spanish professor.⁸⁹ From the Natchez area Don Manuel Gayoso urged the establishment of additional schools to make more grateful and loyal subjects of the youth in his region.⁹⁰

Don Armesto might have been the target of much criticism directed against the school system at this time. He was a powerful political figure⁹¹ and one of the most interesting personalities to appear on the scene in Louisiana during the latter part of the eighteenth century. He was not only director of public schools,

⁸⁷ Mitchell, "Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana," 11. Baron Carondelet in a letter to de las Casas in 1794 remarked that there was only one Spanish school in New Orleans and that it was having its best attendance ever—140 pupils. It is not absolutely certain that this was the public school, because Carondelet names as its director, Father Uvaldo Delgado. Carondelet to de las Casas, July 5, 1794, "Despatches of the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, El Baron de Carondelet," Book IV, August, 1793-September, 1794, pp. 377-80. Rationalizing on the failure of the Spanish language to spread in Louisiana, Carondelet gave the following reasons: There were few Spanish people in Louisiana; there was only one Spanish school, and it was at New Orleans; the population was too widely scattered and too poor to be able to send its children to New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 378-79.

⁸⁸ Bjork, "Documents Relating to the Establishment of Schools in Louisiana, 1771," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XI (March, 1925), 562. "'A few came to be taught reading and writing only; these never exceed thirty and frequently dwindled down to six.'" *Ibid.* Mitchell also expressed the opinion that the pupils went only to learn reading and writing. See Mitchell, "Growth of State Control of Public Education in Louisiana," 10-11. Noble, "Early School Superintendents in New Orleans," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXIV (November, 1931), 274.

⁸⁹ Joseph Piernas to Carondelet[?], April 24, 1795, "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana, El Baron de Carondelet," XI, 1794, pp. 113-15.

⁹⁰ Don Manuel Gayoso to Carondelet, July 5, 1792, *ibid.*, X, 1792, pp. 283-91.

⁹¹ Laussat to Decres, Minister of Marine, France, 1800[?]. Quoted in Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 2nd. ed., III, 593.

but also Colonial Secretary.⁹² It is not definitely known whether Armesto held his positions until 1803, when the United States took over, but he was still functioning as school superintendent in 1800, for in that year a Don Luis Francisco Lefort asked permission to set up a school in New Orleans and was referred to Armesto, who approved his petition after examining him.⁹³ Noble, in "Early School Superintendents in New Orleans," states that Armesto deserves fame as the first city school superintendent in what is now the continental United States.⁹⁴ The criticism of Laussat that Armesto was a "'half lettered fellow, who has grown old in the office of secretary of the government,'" ⁹⁵ is an unjust slur on a man who pioneered in the difficult field of public education and who left a heritage of educational ideals that helped to make New Orleans, as one scholar put it, "educationally one of the most alert cities in America."

The effort of the Spanish Crown to establish public schools in Louisiana was not the passing whim of a capricious sovereign, but a carefully conceived and long-continued process of colonial administration. Nor was it a gesture to win the favor of the Roman Catholic Church with a subsidy of public funds, for the schools, although they taught religion, as contemporary schools in all Christian lands were then accustomed to do, were placed under the supervision of the Director of the Royal Schools, a lay-

⁹² As early as 1780, Armesto was being considered for the post of Colonial Secretary. Governor Galvez felt that he could hold both jobs because attendance at school was "small." Galvez to Don José de Galvez, June 5, 1780, "Despatches of Governor Galvez to His Uncle, Don José de Galvez," 165. In a signed copy of a document, Armesto referred to himself as "secretary of this government." "Despatches of the Spanish Governors of Louisiana, El Baron de Carondelet," XI, 1794, p. 60.

⁹³ Henry P. Dart, "Public Education in New Orleans in 1800," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XI (April, 1928), 246.

⁹⁴ Noble, "Early School Superintendents in New Orleans," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXIV (November, 1931), 274-75. "That New Orleans should furnish the first example of a school superintendency within the present limits of the United States is scarcely less to be marvelled at than the fact that the Spanish colonial government should be interested in establishing in Louisiana under lay leadership, and largely for secular purposes, a system of public schools." *Ibid.* Noble offers the following evidence indicating that Armesto was a school superintendent,

"(1) The functions outlined in the director's contract were essentially supervisory. . . .

"(2) No teaching duties were prescribed for the director. . . .

"(3) Although certain of the director's duties might nowadays be delegated to a principal rather than to a superintendent, the fact remains that several schools, on both the secondary and the primary levels, were contemplated, and that his jurisdiction was to extend over all of them, seems to draw more sharply the analogy of his position to that of the superintendent.

"(4) It is true that the director was not charged with the financial management of the schools, but it is also true that the financial responsibility is but one of a superintendent's obligations.

"(5) . . . the director actually, for at least 28 years, exercised the functions of his contract." *Ibid.*, 275.

⁹⁵ Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 2nd. ed., III, 593.

man appointed as a special agent of the Crown. Charles was obviously employing schools to promote the ends of nationalism. By means of education he hoped to dissolve the deeply embedded allegiance of the French population to Gallic ideals, and to establish in the colony a homogeneous spirit of loyalty to Spain. The design was far-sighted. This proposed substitution of an institution of peace for a garrison of war, represents the most advanced practice of modern nations in colonial administration—a practice which our own nation has consistently pursued in its administration of the Canal Zone, the Philippines, and its other insular possessions.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ By royal orders the policy, which seems to have been initiated in Louisiana, was applied in Texas in 1778, and in California in 1793. Indeed, the establishment of schools by the Crown seems to have been in accordance with a well defined policy for the administration of the North American colonies. Whether the policy was applied in the government of the Central and South American colonies, we do not know. The matter suggests a topic for most promising research in the future.

It is probably that Charles numbered among his advisers students of the contemporary school of French philosophy, for his practice is based upon principles similar to those fervently enunciated by Montesquieu, in 1748; by Turgot, in 1750; by La Chalotais, in 1763; and by Rolland, in 1768. But there still remains the possibility that Charles and his counsellors arrived at their conclusions independent of foreign influence. At any rate, the Louisiana experiment followed only three years after Rolland's recommendation to the Parlement of Paris (1768) that a national system of schools be established in France to take the place of schools conducted by the several orders of the Catholic Church.

In the pursuit of this colonial policy, Spain was far in advance of England. The latter country, in its administration of the American colonies, never attained such heights of statesmanship.

A. B. LONGSTREET'S BRIEF SOJOURN IN LOUISIANA

ARTHUR MARVIN SHAW

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Early in 1849, one of Georgia's most versatile citizens traveled from his native state to the little town of Jackson, Louisiana, where he assumed the presidency of Centenary College, the leading collegiate institution of the state. His name was Augustus Baldwin Longstreet. Four years before his arrival in Jackson, the Methodists of Mississippi had moved their anemic college from that state to Louisiana, and there the migrant institution, which had been struggling for breath ever since 1839,¹ the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Methodism, took over the plant and buildings of the College of Louisiana, which had been founded by the state in 1825 and which after twenty years of failing health had been declared dead.²

When Centenary College acquired the physical properties of the Louisiana school, it merged its name with that of its predecessor, so that the college thereafter was known as Centenary College of Louisiana. From that time until the outbreak of the Civil War sixteen years later, it enjoyed a period of rising prosperity, graduating in one of its best years almost as many as the College of Louisiana had graduated in the twenty years of its existence.³

Gus Longstreet was by no means a young man when he came to Jackson,⁴ but he was thoroughly competent to handle his new job—at least it appeared so—or any other responsibility, for he was not only an experienced college president but he had distinguished himself in most of the prominent fields which the South of that day afforded. He was a living example of what Emerson had said a self-reliant and sturdy lad might become: he had been

¹ The founding of Centenary College was authorized in 1839, but the school did not open until a year later. Minutes, Board of Trustees, Centenary College, December 5, 1840. (Centenary College Archives, Shreveport, La.) For a fairly complete account of the history of Centenary College the writer suggests William Hamilton Nelson, *A Burning Torch and a Flaming Fire* (Nashville, 1931).

² Minutes, Board of Trustees, College of Louisiana, March 15, 1845. (Centenary College Archives).

³ Nelson, *A Burning Torch*, p. 387. There were twenty-two graduates in the class of 1855. The College of Louisiana had graduated a total of twenty-four.

⁴ Longstreet was born on September 22, 1790.

a lawyer, a judge, a politician, an editor, a financier, a planter, an educator, an author, and a Methodist preacher—and he was a flute-player of no mean ability.⁵

However, Longstreet lasted only five months at Centenary College, and these months were perhaps the unhappiest of his life, because he found there some things which were uncongenial to his notions of what should constitute the program and atmosphere of a collegiate institution and its environs. Judge D. O. Shattuck, his predecessor as president had instituted at the college a plan of legislative government, in which the Board of Trustees constituted the Senate or upper house and the student body the lower house. The faculty with somewhat limited veto powers over the action of the legislative bodies exercised the executive and judicial functions.⁶ Such unorthodox procedures as indicated in the system could but be repugnant to a man of Longstreet's nature and experience.

In Jackson, he found also a considerable number of widows with sons to educate, and some of these mothers indulged their offspring to such an extent as to make difficult the efforts of the college to teach them. And the widows' sons were not the only ones whom the new president found lacking in scholastic zeal.

Two young men in Jackson had established a press and solicited contributions from Longstreet's pen. He responded by beginning a novel, *Master William Mitten; or a Youth of Brilliant Talents Who Was Ruined by Bad Luck*,⁷ which he hoped would not only assist the publishers but would improve "The over-indulgent mothers and unruly youth of the place," who by reading his story would perceive the dire consequences which were in prospect for both the unwise parents and the pampered sons. Partly because he did not wish the tale to be considered "as a rebuke to the kind mothers of Jackson," he laid the scene in Georgia.⁸ The first four chapters ran in the local weekly paper until the college commencement, at which time Longstreet resigned his position and set out for Georgia.⁹ Ten years later he

⁵ See the index of John Donald Wade, *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet* (New York, 1924).

⁶ Minutes, Trustees, Centenary College.

⁷ Augustus B. Longstreet, *Master William Mitten: or a Youth of Brilliant Talents Who Was Ruined by Bad Luck* (Macon, 1889), Preface, p. 5.

⁸ Wade, *Longstreet*, p. 295.

⁹ Longstreet's resignation was accepted by the trustees, July 24, 1849. Minutes, Trustees, Centenary College.

again took up the story of Master Mitten, which he himself states was a weak narrative, and published the remaining chapters in another Southern periodical.¹⁰

Of his stay in Jackson, Longstreet says he spent there "the five most tormenting months" of his life, but he does not tell why they were so. However, his competent biographer, John Donald Wade declares, "It is easy to guess the secret."¹¹ What we have already set down in this article follows Mr. Wade pretty closely and would seem to support his implication with regard to the causes of Longstreet's unhappiness; but the whole truth has by no means been suggested thus far, and it is the purpose of this piece to tell the full story concerning the distinguished Georgian's abbreviated sojourn in Louisiana.

In the spring of 1947, almost a century after Longstreet resigned his office at Jackson to become president of the University of Mississippi, there turned up on the campus of Centenary College, now removed to Shreveport, an interesting journal,¹² which was kept by W. H. N. Magruder, a member of the faculty during the late forties and early fifties.

This personal document, the writing of which its author avows was prompted by the necessity of protecting himself as he labors in the midst of a complicated situation, covers only a brief period following the Longstreet administration but contains as its epilogue the record of a dramatic and startling three-way correspondence which involved Magruder, Longstreet, and Dr. R. H. Rivers, a minister, who had been the top-ranking member of the faculty under Longstreet and who had succeeded him as president.

Professor Magruder was a man of conscience and of frankness, and his relationships with the Georgian had not been pleasant. On the other hand, it appears that Dr. Rivers had stood high in Longstreet's opinion. The apparent injustice of the case moved Magruder to efforts which were aimed at his own exoneration from the imputation of unworthy motives in his attitude toward his former superior. Therefore, in the autumn of 1849, he began writing to Longstreet, who had assumed the presidency of the University of Mississippi, and into the full and frank correspondence which followed Dr. Rivers was drawn—and almost quartered. The results may be stated briefly as follows: in so far as

¹⁰ Wade, *Longstreet*, p. 332. The story ran from May 28 to November 19, 1859 in the *Southern Field and Fireside*, a magazine published in Augusta, Ga.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

¹² This manuscript is in the possession of Joe J. Mickle, president of Centenary College.

the esteem of Longstreet was concerned, the positions of his two correspondents were reversed; but although Magruder was triumphant in this instance, he suffered the fate of many another bold champion on field or campus—he won the battle but apparently lost the war, for at the close of the college session that year, he himself resigned.¹³

In Professor Magruder's journal, his entry of October 24, 1849 is the last and by far the longest; so because of the bulk of the material which follows, it is difficult to determine the point at which his composition of this date ended; but in it is included a narrative of the circumstances which produced Longstreet's difficulties, as well as the complications which ensued. The following account is an abbreviated version of what the professor set down.

Judge D. O. Shattuck, who like Longstreet was both a lawyer and a Methodist minister, had with apparent reluctance served Centenary College as president from the time of its removal from Mississippi in 1845 until the end of school session of 1847-1848, at which time he made it known to the Board of Trustees that he would no longer continue in the office. However, upon being importuned by the Board, he consented to remain as head of the institution, on the condition that a vice president be employed to take over his duties. This proposal met with little favor from the Trustees, but they at length agreed to it, whereupon the Judge wrote to Reverend R. H. Rivers, a friend of his in Alabama, who at that time was the head of a Methodist female institute in that state and who because of the uncertain prospects of his school had written to Shattuck concerning the possibility of securing a Professorship at Centenary. President Shattuck in his letter offered the position of vice president to the applicant, suggesting to him as he did so that he would be in a favorable position to receive the top position later.

Rivers promptly accepted the place without pausing to ask what it paid; and when upon later inquiry he found that not only was the salary less than he was then receiving but that he was expected to perform the duties of the president, "he replied with a good deal of ill nature, that if he performed the duties of the President, he expected the President's salary and with this expectation had accepted, and observed, that he could not see an induce-

¹³ Magruder's resignation was accepted July 29, 1850. Minutes, Trustees, Centenary College. The professor declares that his action followed promptly upon his discovery of Rivers' lack of regard for the truth. Magruder, Journal (MS. entry undated, p. 18).

ment to abandon a valuable situation, break up this establishment and incur the inconvenience and risk of removal, *simply to receive several hundred dollars less than he then realized.*"

Upon receipt of this statement, the Centenary authorities decided that its author was not the man for the place and that he would not accept it. Therefore, as Magruder records, "At this crisis it was ascertained that the venerable A. B. Longstreet, Ll. D. having resigned the Presidency of Emory College and was without employment, without hesitation the Trustees elected him to the vacant chair in Centenary." However, the governing body was in for a surprise, for Rivers in his next letter in reply to one from Shattuck, who sought to prevent his coming to Jackson, announced that he was leaving at once for Louisiana and would take "Christmas dinner with Sister Shattuck."

Longstreet had accepted and expected to arrive in Jackson on the first of March. "So," states the narrator, "we had one P. elect and another P. expectant." Dr. Rivers arrived according to his announced intention, and finding himself in a complicated situation, opened a correspondence with Longstreet with the aim in view of preventing his migration to Jackson. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful, and with the arrival of the new president, "Rivers seeing that there was one too many in the concern set to work to lessen the number."¹⁴

It is evident from the somewhat remorseful and vindictive narrative of Professor Magruder that he allowed himself to become a party to the alleged intrigues of the vice president, which resulted in the resignation of Longstreet at the close of the college session. However, his condemnation of Rivers should be taken with a grain of salt, for, although Magruder was a severely conscientious man, he was not happy—according to the revelations in his journal—in his relationships with any of the college faculty or with many other persons.¹⁵

His testimony indicates that he intended to be kind to Longstreet when he first assumed the presidency of Centenary, but early in the Georgian's administration, he placed himself in a bad light with his superior by consenting, at the request of Rivers and one other professor, to take the full responsibility of the faculty in imparting to the president the fact that his chapel

¹⁴ Undated "Narrative" in Magruder, Journal, pp. 12-15.

¹⁵ Magruder, Journal, October 2, 9, and 24, 1849, pp. 1-11.

talks were lacking in wisdom and tact—so much so, that a riotous student disturbance one night was attributable to one of his discourses.¹⁶

At first the president appeared grateful for the information and counsel which his subordinate gave him, but almost immediately he discussed the matter with Rivers, who in turn told Magruder what Longstreet had done, declaring at the same time that he (Rivers) had informed the venerable Georgian that his adviser had come to him as a representative of other members of the faculty. Since Magruder's action had been motivated by a desire to shield his collaborators, he told the vice president that "he had shown more magnanimity than sense."¹⁷

If Rivers gave Longstreet the information concerning the true character of Magruder's unfortunate commission—as he alleges he did—it is evident that the Georgian did not remember it, for after he took up his new duties at Oxford, Mississippi, he wrote his successor at Centenary two letters, in both of which he denied emphatically that Rivers had ever told him anything which indicated that Magruder had acted otherwise than upon his own responsibility. In the final epistle of the two, which contains more than four thousand words and in which the writer reviewed fully the circumstances affecting his unhappy incumbency at Centenary, Longstreet scorched his erstwhile friend with all the fires of indignation which an articulate and wrathful Methodist divine might be thought to possess.¹⁸

At this point, it is perhaps proper to examine this correspondence from the beginning. On November 3, 1849, Magruder wrote Longstreet a letter which he began by saying that he was greatly pained by the fact that the Georgian had left Centenary with such an apparent dislike for him. The writer avowed that he had from the first manifested a deep interest in his former superior and he reviewed certain circumstances connected with their early relationships to indicate the kindness of his attitude toward him.

Warming up to his subject Magruder wrote:

You are an old man [the tactfulness of this reminder is subject to some question] and have seen much of the world; and this leads me to wonder that, after a residence of five months, you should leave a place with so little knowledge of

¹⁶ Magruder, "Narrative", in *ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ All of the letters cited hereafter are copies written by Magruder on the pages of his journal.

the true relationship you sustained to its inhabitants—"afraid" of those who, in their conduct at least, were your best friends, and mistaking for your best friends those who were farthest from it. And this was your case.

Farther on in the letter, the writer discloses the fact that when he advised his former superior concerning his chapel talks, he had acted as an agent of the faculty and it is apparent that he thought Longstreet knew this. But Magruder's conscience would not permit him to stop with merely recalling an incident—he must tell how he felt about the offending speeches, which he indicated were not good:

1st, they were tedious. 2nd, they were censorious and complaining. 3rd, the censures were indiscriminate and the faults of a few were attributed to the whole school. 4th, you railed against evils which had never existed here, which is the best way to provoke them.

The deficiencies here indicated, as well as others mentioned in the letter, the writer avers he had thought were to be accounted for by Longstreet's advanced age. Despite his frankness, however, the professor declares,

I express it as my belief before Almighty God, and that without intent to throw suspicion upon anyone else, that I was the best friend both in conduct and feeling that you had in Jackson.

Near the end of the letter, Magruder discloses what was probably his most important reason for writing to Longstreet:

You have injured me and my family. I love Rivers as a brother and have every confidence in him, but ever since your last conversation with him, his conduct toward me has been constrained and destitute of that cordiality which had previously made him so agreeable an associate. I cannot but believe that you have too high a sense of Christian manliness to take pleasure in this.

On November 20, Longstreet replied,¹⁹ expressing pain and surprise at some of the things Magruder had written and confessing freely "that I left Jackson with unkind feelings to you, and to you only of all the inhabitants of the place," though he declares that his first impressions of the professor had been favorable and "continued so until I made my first address to the students." According to the writer, the delivering of this speech was prompted by Magruder who immediately thereafter placed upon portions of it a strange interpretation, which was that the speaker

¹⁹ Longstreet to Magruder, November 20, 1849.

was trying to indicate that the college has been badly mismanaged in the past and that he had come to set its affairs in order. This interpretation and its circulation Longstreet had ascribed to malice on the part of the professor, for he had found no one else—not even his predecessor, Judge D. O. Shattuck—who had construed his remarks in such manner, which if they were “written out and submitted to every professor in every college in the United States *out of Jackson* . . . not one would interpret them as you did.”

Nor was the case cited above, the only instance in which Magruder had shown a hostile spirit toward the new president, for the professor had taken offense when Longstreet and “Brother Rivers” had conducted a college revival in the absence of Brother Jones, the local minister, “as though Methodist preachers were bound to take orders from their pastor-in-charge, as to when and where they might preach.” He cited as further evidence of the offender’s attitude toward him a report that Magruder had permitted a student to make a disparaging remark in his presence concerning the president of the college.

All of these evidences of hostility had led the Georgian to consult Rivers as to what he should do in order to get along with his antagonistic subordinate, of whom he confesses he is afraid. Then says the writer, “Brother Rivers spoke kindly of you, pointed out your peculiarities, and told me how he thought I should act to gain your good will.” The vice president’s advice, however, had effected little, if any, good.

Despite the severity of Longstreet’s epistle to Magruder, it is apparent that the writer’s attitude had undergone some change since he had received the injured brother’s letter, from which he had learned for the first time that the professor in advising him concerning the inappropriateness of his chapel talks had not acted upon his own responsibility but at the request of Rivers and of another professor, John C. Miller.

The Georgian’s forthright letter brought Brother Magruder to his knees and he almost cried out for mercy.²⁰ More than three months elapsed before he was able to reply. “A terrible rejoinder,” the chastened professor called it, and declared, “it is a bitter pill, and the first thing in the shape of a letter that ever made me feel I was whipped.” Then he continues,

²⁰ Magruder to Longstreet, March 6, 1850.

The manly indignation with which my charges are disposed of, is enough to remove the most embarrassing doubt and satisfy me that in Dr. Longstreet is all and more than all that I had ever honored and admired him for . . ."

After a full and humble expression of his contrition, Magruder writes with evident amazement when he touches upon Longstreet's assertion that Rivers had never imparted to him the true facts concerning the professor's advisory mission in the matter of the chapel talks. Furthermore, the chastised brother compelled Rivers to write a statement or "Certificate," in which the writer declared that Magruder had represented the faculty in performing the "delicate duty" in question and that none of the professors were more devoted to Dr. Longstreet "than was Professor Magruder."²¹

The former vice president enclosed this document with a brief letter which he wrote to the venerable brother in Oxford, Mississippi, the epistle being a reiteration of the statement contained in the certificate; and he closed with a message of affection for Sister Longstreet,²² of which gracious expression the husband was to take note later with a caustic allusion.

To Magruder's letter which was written in early March, 1850, Longstreet replied less than three weeks later²³ in a greatly modified tone:

Your last letter leaves me with not even a scar of the old wound. I declare at this moment I like you better than I ever did before. Your character appears in an entirely different light to me; and I regret exceedingly the cruel suspicions which I entertained of you, after the interview which we had upon the subject of my chapel (speeches) lectures.

The writer also expressed surprise at the "enclosure," from which declaration, it is evident that he had received a copy of the certificate from both Rivers and Magruder. "My views of it," Longstreet wrote, "will be seen in the letter written by me to Bro. Rivers, a copy of which I enclose to you . . ." The nature of these views is not surprising: he did not have the most distant recollection that Rivers had acted in the manner set forth in his written declaration, for, the Georgian asserts, "I could not have forgotten such a statement—it would have been burnt into my memory."

²¹ A copy of the certificate dated March 5, 1850, is inscribed in Magruder's journal, pp. 32-33.

²² Rivers to Longstreet. The letter is undated but should doubtless bear the same date as that of the certificate.

²³ Longstreet to Magruder, March 22, 1850.

Despite the writer's warm brotherly attitude toward Magruder, from whom he implored forgiveness for having wronged him, he nevertheless believed that "you all wanted me away from Centenary College and this wish warped your judgment as to all I said or did." He declared further "that the error was not in me, but in the judgment of my accusers," though he concedes that they were right in asserting "that I was not as active a disciplinarian for the last four months as I was for the first two." What follows is pathetic:

I was dispirited by the untoward circumstances which surrounded me. I hoped that acquaintance with me and the revival would lighten the gloom, the dreadful gloom of my reception at Jackson. I made no complaints; I blamed nobody; but be it known to you now *and for the first time divulged* that there are circumstances attending that reception of which you know nothing that were mortifying in the extreme.

These, and many other harrassments, he states in concluding his letter to Magruder, finally produced his resignation.

On the day that Longstreet wrote this letter to his former professor, he penned one also to Brother Rivers,²⁴ in which he began by indicating that his feelings toward Magruder had undergone a change. Regarding his attitude toward his former vice president, he professed "a little suspicion that you had not dealt with a becoming candor toward me and that I did not stand quite as high in your estimation as I thought I did."

After reviewing Magruder's action in connection with the chapel talks affair, the writer expressed "astonishment and perplexity" that Rivers should assert in both letter and certificate that he had at a former time informed the Georgian of the true facts in the case. "... your memory is at fault," he declared; "... This is a thing I could not have forgotten." The writer even suggests to Rivers the exact language he should have used in clarifying the case to his superior.

To the circumstances concerning his own resignation Longstreet recurs with feeling as he states that it was plain that none of his colleagues had wished him at the head of the institution. Then he went on:

You all flattered yourselves that it was my incompetency to govern, my imprudent speeches, my age, my physical

²⁴ Longstreet to Rivers, March 22, 1850. (If Longstreet wrote both letters on the date indicated, he had little time that day for anything else, for together they contain about four thousand words).

imbecility to which you took exceptions; while you loved the man in his private social character . . . you were much more *afraid* than *desirous* that my administration should be popular with the students and Trustees. Hence your outrageous version of my first remarks—hence your disapprobatory looks as you sat at my right and left whenever I addressed the students in your presence; no matter what my theme or the manner in which I delivered myself. Hence the extreme caution which you all avinced in saying anything commendatory of me before the Trustees and students; indeed before anybody. . . . And hence the meeting at which you delegated Magruder to address me. What were the remarks that produced this meeting? I remember well and here they are—“Young gentlemen, if a majority of you become dissatisfied with my government or me, do not disturb the peace of the college on my account; but respectfully signify to me your dissatisfaction and I will retire.” In reason's name what was there in this remark to stir mutiny among the Students or alarm among the Faculty? I had made it half a dozen times at Emory with *good* effect, for there never was a time when the large majority of the Students there would not have submitted to anything in reason, rather than see me leave the College. But at Centenary it assumed a horrible aspect. Why?

The answer, declared the writer, is to be found in the faculty's attitude toward him, and his remark to the students “was most admirable . . . for those who wished to get rid of me.”

The great offense of Rivers, however, was in connection with Magruder:

I can make great allowances for you . . . but I cannot excuse you for allowing me to do injustice to an innocent man . . . I very much fear, Bro. Rivers, from recent developments that you were more solicitous to keep Bro. M. and myself at points, than to make us friends.

And doubtless it pleased the old man to tell the offending brother that at the Mississippi university.

I talk much as I did at Centenary. Here the Faculty treat my opinions with a great deal of respect, though one member is ten years older than myself . . . May it not be after all, that the old Dotard was not quite as brainless and nerveless as you took him to be?

In conclusion, he states plainly that he blames Rivers “more than all of them put together.”

In Magruder's journal there is no copy of the answer to Longstreet's epistle but the exonerated professor states in a note that

the reply of Rivers to this letter, which he read to some of the Faculty, was a mere bravado, re-affirming what he had said in the note to the certificate, accusing the memory of Dr. L. and acquitting his own of all weakness and treachery and declaring that he had nothing to retract and no apologies to make.²⁵

Longstreet did not reply to this letter for a long time. Spring went by and most of the summer; and finally on the first of August he penned an epistle of inordinate length.²⁶ It is evident from its beginning that he no longer sustained a brotherly feeling for his former vice president. "President Rivers," was his chilly salutation, and what followed was both cold and hot. After referring to his own long delay in writing, he followed with a pointed insult: "Allow me to set you right however careless you may be in keeping so." Then he continued:

You have devoted most of your letter to a justification of yourself for thinking me embecile [sic], infirm inefficient, etc. Miller and Magruder entertained the same opinion of me; but I attached no blame to them on that account. It was your manner of dealing with me and one of my associates in the Faculty, your manner of propagating that opinion and the obvious interest with which you spread it abroad, which offended me.

Most of what follows in the lengthy communication is a re-working of materials already referred to in letters of Longstreet and Magruder and in the journal of the latter; but always the main point at issue was the alleged duplicity of Rivers in the matter of Magruder's advice to the Georgian concerning his chapel speeches.

However, one additional offense on the part of Rivers is set forth by the outraged and wrathful Dr. Longstreet. According to the writer, he had discovered after assuming the university presidency in Mississippi that his former vice president had almost jeopardized the old man's position before he accepted the proffered office.

²⁵ The note appears in Magruder's journal at the end of his transcription of Longstreet's letter.

²⁶ Longstreet to Rivers, August 1, 1850.

The situation as related by the Georgian was as follows: upon receiving the Mississippi offer, while he was still in Jackson, he had discussed the matter fully with Brother Rivers and had expressed serious doubts as to whether he would accept the place. His sympathetic confidant had intimated that he himself would leave Centenary and that he would welcome such an opportunity as that tendered to his superior. Soon thereafter Rivers had written to a friend in Holly Springs asking his assistance in securing a place in North Mississippi and assigning Longstreet's feebleness as his reason for wishing to leave Centenary "and," states the Georgian, "you dispatch another letter to our high in office urging him to dissuade me from accepting the appointment in Missi. on the ground of my utter incompetency to preside over a college."

The narrator grows warmer as he relates the circumstances connected with his removal to Mississippi where after his auspicious "installment" as president, he had written Rivers of his flattering prospects. But the new president had found a fly in his ointment:

Upon my arrival here I found all who took an interest in the College surprised to find me such an active, sprightly, cheerful old man. It seemed as tho' they expected me to come on crutches. It had been reported all about that I was an infirm, time-worn, inefficient old man utterly incapacitated to head a college. Who could have so represented me? No Methodist—I was certain. At length I discovered that I was indebted to *you* for the current report; and for the soul of me I could not fathom the motive of such dealing with me.

Longstreet indicates that the offender had attempted an explanation of the matter by quoting from one of his letters, which expression the old man compressed into "the reluctant outpouring of irrepressible compassion and brotherly love!" But he queries,

Where did you learn this kind of love, my *sweet-spirited brother*? In the school of Joab or John?
And then the writer strikes a hard blow:

It may be of some interest to you to know that but for my happening to have friends about here, who know me, it would probably have inflicted the severest injury upon me and your esteemed Sister Longstreet that ever befell us in this life—death's blows only excepted.

How much other correspondence may have resulted from the Longstreet-Magruder-Rivers affair we shall perhaps never learn, in which case, we shall doubtless be no worse off. What Magruder

preserved of the epistolary controversy is interesting but much of the discussion—especially Longstreet's—is repetitious. However, we can but admire the zeal and industry of the Georgian and his former professor at Centenary; for Longstreet, writing to Rivers, set down thousands of words in his letters; and these communications he copied by hand and sent to Magruder, who transcribed them in his journal. But we must note here that in the case of the old man's last epistle, the transcribing professor apparently wearied of the task after four thousand words and broke off in the midst of one of Longstreet's several lengthy and passionate efforts to impress Rivers with what the writer conceived to be his despicable conduct in matters relating to the much discussed chapel talks.

It was the practice of some old-fashioned novelists to close their narratives with a brief account of what happened to the main characters after the curtain of the playhouse was dropped; and perhaps such a procedure will be fitting in this article.

Professor Magruder, after his resignation from Centenary in 1850, operated a high school for boys in Jackson, Louisiana, until 1855 when he organized the Collegiate Institute in Baton Rouge. This institution, which was an academy for boys, occupied his chief attention during the thirty-three years of its useful existence.²⁷

Dr. Rivers, at the end of five years as president of Centenary, resigned in 1854 because of his wife's ill health and sought other fields.²⁸ Many years later when he was living in Louisville, Kentucky, he published a brief article in one of the church periodicals, in which he recalled with affectionate enjoyment an incident in his career at the Louisiana college.²⁹

As for Judge Longstreet, since the story of his eventful life has been told by his able biographer, we need remark here only that after leaving Louisiana, he proved to be one of the youngest old men on record: he administered the University of Mississippi until 1857, he served as president of the University of South Carolina from then until 1861, he survived the tribulations of the Civil War, and sustained thereafter an active participation in the life about him until almost the day of his death in the summer of 1870.³⁰

²⁷ James William Mobley, "The Academy Movement in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 828, 774-777. (July, 1947).

²⁸ Minutes, Trustees, Centenary College. July 19, 1854.

²⁹ Nelson, *A Burning Torch*, pp. 140-143. Quoted from the *Central Methodist*, Louisville. Nelson states that Rivers' article was published in 1888 but omits the exact date.

³⁰ Wade, *Longstreet*, pp. 297-371.

AUGUSTE DAVEZAC'S MISSION TO THE KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES 1833-1834*

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The satisfactory conclusion, in 1832, of the indemnity claims against the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by John Nelson,¹ crowned with success the efforts of three federal administrations to compel the Government of the Two Sicilies to settle the dispute arising from the depredations, seizures, confiscations and destruction of American vessels and their cargoes made by Murat during the Napoleonic wars.² Since Mr. Nelson could not or did not wish to return to Naples to ratify the indemnity treaty, that task was assigned by Mr. Auguste Davezac, of Louisiana,³ who at the moment was chargé d'affaires at The Hague. The choice was favorably regarded, for in diplomatic circles Mr. Davezac enjoyed wide reputation for his keen judgment of men and events and for his wide knowledge of European economic, political and social conditions. These qualities were highly desirable, for the American Government felt that the time was ripe to start negotiations for a treaty of general commerce between the United States and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In fact, the Secretary

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¹ John Nelson (1791-1860). Born in Fredericktown, Md. A prominent lawyer, he was a member of Congress 1821-1823. He served as United States Minister to Naples from October 24, 1831 to October 15, 1832. He was Attorney General from 1843 to 1845. On Nelson's mission to Naples, see H. R. Marraro, "John Nelson's Mission to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1831-1832)," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, September, 1949, XLIV, 149-176.

² A good discussion of the controversy may be found in the Rev. Christopher Perrotta, *The claims of the United States against the Kingdom of Naples*. (Washington, D. C., Belvedere Press, 1926).

³ Auguste G. V. D'Avezac (1780-1851). Born in Santo Domingo. A lawyer and a diplomat. After his return from Paris where he had gone to study, D'Avezac settled in New Orleans, La., and there he acquired great distinction as a criminal lawyer. He became secretary of the legation at The Hague on Aug. 11, 1829 and was promoted to the post of chargé d'affaires to the Netherlands on Oct. 15, 1831. On Jan. 30, 1833, he was appointed special diplomatic agent to the Two Sicilies and empowered to negotiate a treaty of general commerce. On this mission he remained a year in Naples, returning to The Hague about Feb. 19, 1834. He retired from the Netherlands legation, July 15, 1839, but he returned to the same post on April 19, 1845, remaining until Sept. 1850. Although D'Avezac signed his name Davezac and was addressed by the State Department as Davezac, the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1930), V, 89, spells the name D'Avezac. For biographical information on Davezac, see, C. H. Hunt, *Life of Edward Livingston* (1864), passim; Louise Livingston Hunt, *Memoir of Mrs. Edward Livingston* (1886); H. S. Foote, *The bench and bar of the South and Southwest* (1876), 194; *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, Feb. 1845; *New York Herald*, Feb. 16, 1851.

of State Livingston,⁴ on March 7, 1833, in his instructions to Mr. Davezac, urged him to exert all efforts to negotiate also a treaty of general commerce and trade "on terms mutually beneficial to the two countries."⁵

Immediately after the receipt of his instructions, Mr. Davezac left The Hague and travelling rapidly through Belgium and France, he arrived at Naples on May 24, 1833 when all business in the offices of the Neapolitan Government suspended, owing to the approaching nuptials of the Grand Duke of Tuscany with the King's sister whom Mr. Davezac described as "a lovely and blooming Princess." The marriage ceremony was finally held on June 7 and on the following day, affairs having resumed their normal course, the ratifications of the indemnity treaty were exchanged at the Neapolitan Ministry of Foreign Affairs between Mr. Davezac and the Prince of Cassaro, the minister of foreign affairs.⁶ Mr. Davezac adopted some slight modifications in the *procès verbal* from the form Secretary of State Livingston had sent to him with his instructions.⁷ But they were so unimportant that Mr. Davezac did not think it worth while to insist on preserving the exact language Mr. Livingston had directed, especially since the proposed act was in strict conformity with the form of similar instruments made on like occasions at the Neapolitan chancery. The plain fact is that Mr. Davezac was "too eager" to conclude the treaty to argue on forms when the substance was fully attained, especially, as he informed the Secretary of State in his despatch No. 1, dated Naples, June 10, 1833, as there were many in Naples who hoped that some obstacle might arise in the way of the execution of the

⁴ Edward Livingston, of Louisiana. Commissioned Secretary of State by President Jackson, May 24, 1831. Commissioned as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to France, May 29, 1833 and retired that day from the former post.

⁵ This instruction No. 16, March 7, 1833, by Secretary of State Livingston is found in Instructions, Netherlands, XIV, 2-3. The instructions to Davezac specified the conditions which the United States was willing to accept in such a commercial treaty and urged haste in forwarding the text if such a treaty were concluded by Davezac, but warned him not to hold up the sending of the ratification document to wait for the negotiations of the commercial treaty.

⁶ Antonio Statella, Prince of Cassaro, (1785-1864). He was the son of Francesco Maria, the first Prince of Cassaro. Antonio Statella was sent as envoy extraordinary to Vienna. He was minister of foreign affairs *ad interim* from Jan. 26, 1830; minister of foreign affairs from July 27, 1830 to March 20, 1840; finally from March 15 to June 25, 1860, he was president of the Council of Ministers of Francis II. On the Prince of Cassaro, see Ruggero Moscati, *Ferdinando II di Borbone nei documenti diplomatici austriaci* (Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1947). In this publication Cassaro's entire political career is traced and developed from unpublished documents in the archives of Vienna and Naples.

⁷ Davezac and the Prince of Cassaro signed in both languages the act (*Procès Verbal*) and affixed to it their respective seals. The original, in English, of the *Procès Verbal* of the ratification of the Convention is bound as an ordinary document in Italy I, Despatches Naples, No. 2. The United States today has only a positive photostat of the Italian version of which the original is in the Archives of the Italian Government at Rome. (Notation in Records Volume of the United States, State Department, at the United States National Archives). Another copy of this *Procès Verbal* was transmitted by Davezac with his Despatch No. 2, dated June 20, 1833.

indemnity treaty by the Neapolitan Government. As a matter of fact that treaty had exposed the Prince of Cassaro to the bitter animadversion of courtiers to the point where even the chargé d'affaires of Austria,⁸ who had previously advised the King⁹ to yield, had been accused of having sacrificed an *old city* to a *new friend*! The Prince of Cassaro, however, finally triumphed over his adversaries and continued to hold his power with a firmer hand than at any time before in his government career.

There being no American warships at Naples at that time, Mr. Davezac, following instructions he had received from the Secretary of State, sent the ratified copy of the treaty to the United States by Lt. Andrew Allen Harwood¹⁰ who had been recommended to him by Commodore Patterson¹¹ as an officer worthy of being entrusted with the care of that document. With the treaty, Mr. Davezac also sent a list, dated July 5, 1833 and prepared by Mr. Alexander Hammett,¹² the American Consul containing the names of the confiscated American vessels with the dates of their arrivals, an exact account of the packages, with the nature of their contents, composing the cargoes of the American vessels, seized and confiscated in the Kingdom of Naples. This information was important to the Board of Commissioners that had been appointed to apportion the sums due on each claim.

Meanwhile, Mr. Davezac lost no time in establishing important contacts with prominent Neapolitans so as to facilitate the

⁸ He was Ludwig Freiherr von Lebzeltern (1774-1854). Austrian statesman. His first diplomatic assignment was at the Austrian embassy in Lisbon. Later he was secretary at the Chancery in Rome and still later he became a special envoy and minister at St. Petersburg. He was then sent to Naples as envoy. See, C. Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon, etc.*, 1865, XIV, 281-283. See also, Christoph Schlosser, *History of the eighteenth century and of the nineteenth till the overthrow of the French empire*. London, Chapman & Hall, 1843-1852, 8 volumes.

⁹ Ferdinand II (1810-1859). The son of Francis I. Ferdinand became King of the Two Sicilies Nov. 8, 1830. He reigned to his death which occurred on May 22, 1859. He was known by the appellation of King Bomba.

¹⁰ Andrew Allen Harwood (1818-?). Born in Pennsylvania. Naval Officer. He served on frigate *United States*, Mediterranean Squadron, 1832-1833; he was detached as special messenger to bring home the ratified treaty with Naples. He returned again (1835-1837) to the Mediterranean Squadron. From 1853 to 1855 he commanded the frigate *Cumberland*, Mediterranean Squadron. He was commissioned Rear Admiral, Feb. 16, 1869. Lewis R. Hammersly, *The records of the living Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps* (1870), 37-38.

¹¹ Daniel Todd Patterson (1786-1839). Commodore. In the war against Tripoli in 1803, Patterson took an active part and was imprisoned for almost two years. During the negotiations to enforce claims against Naples, his squadron gave effective aid by entering the Neapolitan harbor one ship after another, until all six were assembled. From 1832 to 1836 Patterson commanded the Mediterranean Squadron after which he was, until his death, commandant of the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C. *Dictionary American Biography* (1934), XIV, 301-302. See also, United States Navy Records, in United States National Archives, *Letters, Officers: Captains' Letters*.

¹² Alexander Hammett, of Maryland, was nominated Consul of the United States at Naples on June 6, 1809. He retained the post to 1860. He acted as chargé d'affaires *ad interim* from about May 11, 1847 to June 29, 1848. See *Register of State Department*, 1874, 104.

work of his mission. At the suggestion of Mr. Davezac and after several interviews, Karl Rothschild,¹³ the well-known banker in Naples, submitted a proposal to the United States Government tending to facilitate the financial and commercial relations between the two countries. Finding that the Government of the United States had not yet any banking house in Naples or elsewhere in Italy for the conduct of those affairs which the pecuniary and commercial interests of America required in those countries, Mr. Rothschild offered his "best services" to this purpose, especially as the commerce of the United States was increasing with that part of Europe. In his communication, Mr. Rothschild stated that he would feel highly honored by any order or business he might be entrusted with from the United States Government, adding that he felt certain that his position in Naples and in the several branches of his banking firm would enable him to attend to the management of those affairs in such a manner as to give the utmost satisfaction.

In transmitting this note to Secretary Livingston, Mr. Davezac stated that Mr. Rothschild, in addition to the influence of his wealth, had "no inconsiderable political weight in this [Neapolitan] Government," and, therefore, could be useful to him in the negotiation in which he was engaged at the time.

To further this general purpose Mr. Davezac exerted every effort to promote cordial feelings between the two peoples. On June 19, 1833, he arranged, through Commodore Patterson, who was in Naples with the *United States* and the *Constitution*, to have the Prince of Cassaro and three of his daughters visit the American ships. The Prince was greatly pleased with the manner in which he had been received by the Commodore and his officers. Visibly impressed with what he had seen, the Prince frankly admitted to Mr. Davezac that with a nation possessing such a navy "it was to the interest of Naples to cultivate the most friendly relations."

¹³ Karl Rothschild (1788-1855). Banker. Born in Frankfort; died in Naples. One of five sons of Meyer Amschel Rothschild, all bankers. Karl was in charge of the firm at Naples. For an account of this powerful financier, see Raffaele De cesare, *La fine di un regno*. Città di Castello, 1908; also E. Demachy, *Les Rothschild*, Paris, 1896; I. Balla, *Die Rothschild*, Berlin, 1912; E. C. Corti, *Das Rothschild*, Leipzig, 2 vols. An Italian edition of Corti's work was published by Mondadori, 1938. The diplomatic correspondence of the period contains frequent references to the Rothschilds.

At about that time a conspiracy¹⁴ was discovered at Naples of a nature that was extremely alarming to the government and Mr. Davezac lost no time in reporting it to Secretary Livingston. According to this report the plot was intended "to make way" with the King, and to reenact, insofar as it concerned the foreign troops, the bloody tragedy of the Sicilian Vespers. The chiefs, two new commissioned officers, finding that their plans had been betrayed to the police, fired at each other, standing breast to breast—one was shot dead, the other was not expected to survive the serious wound he had received. Many of the presumed accomplices had been arrested. This conspiracy, according to Mr. Davezac, was evidently connected with the one that had thrown such deep roots through the whole Piedmontese army, as to make it doubtful whether his Sardinian Majesty could then have continued with any degree of safety to keep a national army on foot.¹⁵

While keeping a vigilant eye on what was occurring about him and strengthening his relations with prominent Neapolitans, Mr. Davezac, soon after his arrival in Naples and even before the negotiations for the commercial treaty were actually started, devoted some time to enquiries necessary to obtain full knowledge, not only of the actual state of America's commercial relations with Naples but also of the various interests and influences likely to stand in the way of the success of his negotiations. As to the first, Mr. Davezac found that except with Sicily where the United States carried on an active and extensive trade, American ships had almost entirely abandoned the ports of the Kingdom since they were unable to compete with England, protected as the navigation of that power was by a deduction in their favor, as well as in favor of France and Spain, of ten per cent on the duties

¹⁴ The conspiracy was headed by Cesare Rossaroli, a corporal in the second regiment of the guards. Together with Lieutenant Francesco Angelotti and Vito Romano, Rossaroli planned a military plot which was to do away with the King. After several postponements, the plot was finally carried out in May 1833, under tragic circumstances when the conspirators were discovered by Paolonetti, the banner carrier who, feigning to take part in the movement, revealed the would-be regicides who were apprehended at the Maddalena bridge at Naples. Rossaroli was condemned to death on December 13, 1833. See: Giuseppe Paladino, "Una congiura mazziniana a Napoli nel 1833." *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, Naples, 1924, X, 287; Nicola Nisco, *Ferdinando II e il suo regno*, Naples, Morano, 1888, 29. Wm. R. Thayer, *The dawn of Italian Independence*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1892, I, 409.

¹⁵ The disturbances in Piedmont in 1833, inspired by Mazzini, resulted in the death sentence of many liberals who had participated in the revolt. Jacopo Ruffini, a friend of Mazzini and a leader in the uprising, committed suicide in a prison in Genoa. Charles Albert (1798-1849) became King of Sardinia on April 27, 1831. In March 1848 he granted a liberal constitution to his subjects but following the defeat of his army during the war against Austria, he abdicated on March 23, 1849, in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

paid by other nations.¹⁶ As regarded the harmful influences and interests that might stand in his way, Mr. Davezac was not long in discovering that he would have as opponents a powerful body of the Messapolioti,¹⁷ who had staked their fortunes on the continuance of the protection given to their industries, against rival productions, by high duties. In Naples, as in every part of Europe, which had been even for a short time subjected to French domination or influence, during the prevalence of the continental system, manufacturers had grown up under the shade, either of the absolute prohibition or of very high duties which made all competition hopeless. Agriculture, too, had been encouraged to grow produce hitherto obtained from foreign markets and great landed proprietors then claimed to be maintained in the possession of advantages which, they contended, belonged to them, as it were, by possession rights. The cotton, for example, cultivated in the vicinity of Naples and in some of the provinces was inferior in quality to that of the United States and, therefore, could not be produced by the farmers at any profit but for the protection it received from the enormous duties laid on that of foreign growth. Mr. Davezac felt that he would have had to contend against these same interests if he asked for the free introduction into the Kingdom of either raw cotton or cotton twists from the United States. However, in opposition to these interests, Mr. Davezac knew that he had with him the wish of the King to do away with a monopoly which he considered ruinous to the general agriculture of the country, while it enriched only a few great land owners and some foreign capitalists. This circumstance encouraged Mr. Davezac not to despair of success. Besides, the opinion Mr. Davezac had formed of the natural wealth of the Two Sicilies, its arts, its flourishing though ill-directed agriculture, and its means of furnishing to America's trade, in exchange for the produce of America's commerce and industry, that of its favored climate and soil, made him the more determined to leave no exertion untried to succeed in his mission.

¹⁶ The commerce and navigation statistics of the United States in those years gave separate figures for Sicily and for Italy and Malta, but no separate entry for Naples. It is, therefore, not possible to estimate the value of the imports and exports from the Two Sicilies. See United States, House of Representatives. Treasury Department, 22nd Congress, 1st Session. Document No. 230.

¹⁷ The reference here seems to be to the people called the Messapii, a people of the Ionian peninsular region in the time of Herodotus who described them as living in what now is the Southeastern part of Italy. Later the name was also applied to the Calabrians. See a long article about these people, under "Messapi," in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Milan, Edizione Istituto Trecanni.

While gathering statistical information and studying the economic and agricultural conditions of the Two Sicilies in order that he might be better able to discuss the subject more intelligently, Mr. Davezac had frequent conferences with the Prince of Cassaro on the subject of the intended commercial treaty. At an interview held on July 7, 1834, after reiterating, in the name of the King, the assurances he had received from His Majesty's own lips of his desire to enter into a treaty of commerce with the United States of America, the Neapolitan minister said that his personal views were in perfect harmony with those of the King and that Mr. Davezac would find him as anxious as he himself was to place the commercial relations of the two countries on the plane which their mutual and well-understood interests required them to be. The Prince presumed that Mr. Nelson's project of a commercial treaty contained all the stipulations which, on the part of the United States, it was intended that it should include. In reply, Mr. Davezac expressed the pleasure he felt at the declaration the Prince of Cassaro had been pleased to make, both as to the King's intentions and as to his own favorable sentiments in relation to the advantages likely to result from closer commercial relations between the two countries. Mr. Davezac observed that, as the Prince had conjectured, the project presented by Mr. Nelson contained the stipulations which were to serve as the basis of the negotiation. As Mr. Davezac's instructions had told him to omit the articles relating to neutral rights, if he found on the part of the Neapolitan Government any disinclination to them, he enquired from the minister what his views were as to these articles. The Prince of Cassaro replied without hesitation that they were disposed to examine the project with the articles in question, remarking at the same time, that Naples, not being a great naval power had no interest opposed to the principles tending to extend and enforce neutral rights. However, there was one nation, the Prince said, ever jealous of stipulations relating to neutral rights being embodied into a new treaty whose influence, he acknowledged, was great and dispensed through the agency of their merchants among every class of society. The Neapolitan minister knew that the influence of that nation and of her friends would be exerted to defeat the proposed treaty with the United States. Mr. Davezac suggested the propriety of keeping the negotiations on which they had entered secret since the only avowed motive of his mission in Naples was that of exchanging the ratified treaty and since his protracted residence at Naples, after attaining that object, might

naturally be attributed to Mr. Davezac's desire of seeing more of the country or to an unwillingness to suffer the fatigue of a journey back to The Hague during the excessive heat of an Italian summer. Interrupting Mr. Davezac at this point, the Prince said that the project promoted by Mr. Nelson had already been made known to the Neapolitan Commission of Commerce in order to obtain its opinion on the subject; that the same project, reproduced by Mr. Davezac with such modifications to it as he might propose, would again be presented to the same Commission for examination. Under such circumstances of previous publicity and especially at Naples where foreign ministers had such means of knowing all that it was their interest to know, that secrecy was out of the question. In conclusion, the Prince promised that he would enjoin at least all the persons to whom the subject had been disclosed to be silent as to the points to which it related.

Mr. Davezac left the Prince of Cassaro favorably impressed as concerned the views the Neapolitan personally entertained on the subject of the proposed treaty. In fact, Mr. Davezac believed that the Prince was eager to bring the commercial treaty to a successful conclusion. But a very short stay at Naples had sufficed to convince Mr. Davezac that the Prince's influence with the King was on the decline. Mr. Davezac knew that the marriage of His Sovereign with a Sardinian Princess¹⁸ had been arranged and concluded without the Prince's participation and that the Prince's enemies at Court had succeeded in representing him to the King as one devoted to another's interests more than to those of his own country. Still the Prince of Cassaro continued in office and when, aware of having no longer the full confidence of his Sovereign, the Neapolitan minister tendered him his resignation, the Prince of Cassaro was urged to remain at the head of the cabinet with the flattering declaration that his services could not be dispensed with. These circumstances led Mr. Davezac to believe that in a Court where favor was constantly fluctuating and among a people so long under the directing influence of Austrian politics, the momentary displeasure of the King against a minister who was considered as the representative of the system of the three great northern powers could not be viewed as decisive of his fate. Fur-

¹⁸ King Ferdinand II married on November 21, 1832, Marie Christine (1812-1836), the daughter of King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. A year after her death, on Jan. 9, 1837, he married Queen Marie Thérèse-Isabelle, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of Archduke Charles.

theremore, it was the opinion of Count Stakelberg,¹⁹ the Russian minister in Naples, that the Prince would shortly have regained his former influence on the King, in spite of the situation of France.

After all these preliminary discussions and at the invitation of the Prince, Mr. Davezac transmitted to him a transcript of Mr. Nelson's project of a treaty together with the modifications that had been directed by Mr. Davezac's instructions. The Prince of Cassaro promised that the project would shortly be presented to the Commission of Commerce, but observed, at the same time, that the greatest obstacle to the success of the negotiation were the advantages entrusted by treaty to France, England and Spain of a diminution of ten per cent in favor of their navigation to the duties paid by other nations in the ports of the Kingdom; that all Neapolitans felt the weight of that humiliating concession to those three nations but that some of the King's ministers and among them, the Marquis d'Andrea,²⁰ the minister of finance, while admitting that this concession was onerous to the treasury and destructive to the commerce of the country, entertained doubts as to their being at liberty, without violating the faith of a treaty, to grant the same advantages to others, in compensation for some concession made in favor of Neapolitan commerce, or to render the concession illusory for the free power now possessing it, by granting it to every other nation. The Neapolitan Minister advised Mr. Davezac to seek an opportunity to discuss the subject with the Marquis d' Andrea for he felt that the influence of that minister would weigh heavily against the treaty if he opposed it. The Prince of Cassaro added, however, that it would be best to defer the interview until after the Commission of Commerce had made its report which, he feared, would not be before the end of September, 1833. When Mr. Davezac objected to the delay, the Prince observed that, at Naples, it was impossible to get anything done promptly; but that he would urge the chief of the Commission to act with all possible speed.

¹⁹ Stakelberg, Gustav (1766-1850). Count. Russian diplomat. Envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Naples from 1809 to 1835. See: Ruggero Moscati, *Il regno delle Due Sicilie e l'Austria: documenti dal marzo 1821 al novembre 1830*. Naples R. Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1937, 2 vols.

²⁰ Giovanni D'Andrea (1776-1841). Marquis. He occupied important positions in the government of the Two Sicilies, e.g., judge of the Gran Corte (1803), judge of the Court of Appeals (1808), director general of post-office (1815) minister of finance (1821-1822; 1830-1841). During this last period he was also minister of ecclesiastical affairs. He was able to carry out important and useful public reforms. See, Paolo Spada, *Della Vita del marchese Giovanni D'Andrea*. Naples, 1842. *Dizionario del Risorgimento Nazionale*, 1930, II, 127-828.

On August 20, 1833, Mr. Davezac informed the newly appointed Secretary of State, the Hon. L. McLane,²¹ that his negotiations with the Neapolitan Court continued slowly, but with every prospect of being brought to a successful conclusion. The United States treaty with Russia²² which Mr. McLane had sent advisedly, arrived at the opportune moment, according to Mr. Davezac, for he thought that it had great weight in the decision of the Neapolitan Government, particularly, as the Count de Stakelberg, the Russian Minister, urged the King of the Two Sicilies to follow the example of the Emperor Nicholas, by drawing closer the ties of friendship with the United States Government. The delay in negotiating the treaty between the United States and Naples was due, Mr. Davezac explained, to the political plot in Piedmont which had occupied much of the attention of the Neapolitan ministers. Mr. Davezac assured the Secretary of State that he would soon be in a position either to send him such a treaty or he would be on his way back to The Hague.

As Mr. Davezac was given to understand that the Neapolitan Government would not consent to insert, in any treaty, stipulations at variance with their sanitary laws; and, being aware that one of the obstacles in the way of a direct commerce between the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the United States was the long and expensive quarantine to which vessels arriving at Naples from America were subjected, Mr. Davezac conversed with several of the members of the Magistracy of Health in order to devise some means of mitigating the severity of their laws. They all agreed that since they had no regular correspondence with any well-known board of health in the United States, they were always uncertain, for want of reliable information, what to do and they were, therefore, obliged, as the only safe means, to enforce the quarantine regulations of which Mr. Davezac complained. The American minister communicated this information to the Department of State in the hope that it would discover some means of suggesting to the several boards of health of the principal ports of the United States, the propriety of establishing a correspondence with the board of health of Naples.

²¹ L. McLane was commissioned Secretary of State; May 29, 1833; resigned June 30, 1834.

²² On Dec. 18, 1832, the United States had concluded a treaty of commerce and navigation with Russia. A separate article, signed at the same time, provided that certain stipulations with other powers were not to be invoked. For text of this treaty in English and in French, see Hunter Miller, *Treaties and other international acts of the United States of America*, Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, III, 723-740.

Meanwhile, week after week, Mr. Davezac received from the Prince of Cassaro, assurances that the expected report on the treaty of commerce would be favorable; an opinion, however, that Mr. Davezac did not share as some person, well-informed, as the result proved, had warned him that the influence of the ministers of England and France²³ had been successfully exerted among the members of the Commission of Commerce. The Prince of Cassaro not only insisted that Mr. Davezac's informers were mistaken but remained confident of the result until the report was issued, not in direct terms against the policy of forming a commercial treaty between the two nations, but advising to delay entering into any treaty with any foreign power that implied a change in the existing tariff regulations until after they had been revised and modified in the way intended by the Government. The Neapolitan Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed his astonishment that business men should have come to such conclusions, adding that he would take the earliest opportunity to advise the King to direct him to proceed with the negotiation. As a general rule the reports made by commissions were viewed as decisions but the Prince had no doubt that his opinion would ultimately prevail, particularly as the minister of finance, whom he had advised Mr. Davezac to see, had lately been favorably disposed on the subject of a treaty with America.

Discouraged by these developments, Mr. Davezac requested and obtained an audience with the King. His Majesty received Mr. Davezac, as he had always done, with the greatest affability, enquiring, as he usually did, of the President's health. After expressing his acknowledgments, Mr. Davezac revealed his regret that so little progress had been made in the negotiation for a treaty of commerce, although His Majesty had assured him that he was desirous to make one with the United States. The King replied merely in the following words: "*J'entretiens toujours les même sentiments que je vous ai déjà exprimé; je paralerai au Prince de Cassaro, afin que l'affaire marche plus vite à l'avenir.*" His Majesty then spoke of the unusually large number of Americans who had recently visited Naples, observing that he was pleased to note that so many of them travelled through his dominions.

²³ At the time, the English minister was Lord John Ponsonby and the French minister was the Marquis Fay de la Tour-Mabourg.

With these assurances, Mr. Davezac hastened to discuss the matter with the Marquis d'Andrea, the minister of finance. At the interview which took place on October 6, the Marquis assured Mr. Davezac that, contrary to what he may have heard, he [the Marquis] was not opposed to a commercial treaty between the United States and Naples. He explained, however, that as the Government of the Two Sicilies had never entered into any treaty of that nature with any nation, the Marquis thought that every step taken on so important a subject had to be deliberately weighed; that he wished to see his way clear as to the means of facing the public expenditure, paying the army, the interest of the debt and the sum which was soon due to the United States; that, if he were convinced that the proposed stipulations did not drain the treasury and undermine the credit of the state, he would, instead of being the adversary, as he was represented, of closer commercial relations, become the warmest advocate of a treaty establishing them. In reply Mr. Davezac assured the Marquis that the Government of the United States asked from that of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies no commercial advantages except in reciprocity; that, for every concession, they offered a concession in return; that, if the United States Government had authorized him to negotiate on the subject of a treaty of commerce, it was because His Majesty, the King of the Two Sicilies, had himself expressed to Mr. Nelson, Mr. Davezac's predecessor at the Neapolitan Court, his willingness to enter into negotiations to that effect; that, with regard to what the Marquis had said of his fear of draining the treasury by lessening the duties on articles imported into the Kingdom, in consequence of similar diminutions being made in America on the produce of the Neapolitan soil, the fruit of their industry or of their arts, experience had shown both in the United States and in such of the European states as had acted on liberal principles of reciprocity, like that which the United States offered to Naples as the rules of America's commercial relations; that, far from diminishing, such reductions had even increased the amount of duties received; that this was the natural consequence of increased demands, the constant concomitant of lessened duties. The Marquis observed, in reply, that he accepted most of Mr. Davezac's views but, as regarded the deduction of ten per cent in favor of England, France and Spain, he feared that unless conceded for a valuable equivalent, England and perhaps France also might make it the ground of angry remonstrances; that, as Mr. Davezac was probably aware, the

Kingdom was vulnerable and that great prudence was required on the subject; but, nevertheless, as the King was determined to have a treaty of commerce with America, the Marquis d'Andrea would do all in his power to lay aside existing obstacles; that Mr. Davezac should not be discouraged by the delay; that it was unavoidable, in relation to a matter of such importance, in a country when there was no precedent of a treaty of the kind.

In His Despatch No. 4, dated Naples, October 19, 1833, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Davezac expressed his disappointment at the lack of a definitive statement of the result of his negotiation in Naples. Yet, he explained that he had not been idle during the four months he had been in that city. He explained that business was carried on through so many intermediary agents that though ministers were incessantly at work, affairs did not progress. Nevertheless, he felt that some progress had been made. At a conference he had on October 18, 1833, with the Minister of Finance, Mr. Davezac observed that he had to return to his post at The Hague by the end of the month. Thereupon the Minister of Finance not only earnestly urged Mr. Davezac not to leave then but went so far as to assure him that the objections to a treaty of commerce with America which had hitherto proceeded from him, would now be changed into the most active efforts to bring the matter to a prompt and favorable conclusion. As proof of this determination, the minister of finance added that the Director of the Custom House had received orders to wait on Mr. Davezac, on the following day, in order to put into writing in the form of articles, the stipulations which they had discussed and which he then was disposed to accept as the ground work of the intended treaty of commerce. Accordingly, Mr. Davezac that same morning had a long conference with the Chevalier di Ligore,²⁴ the person designated by the Minister. In the course of this conversation, the negotiations hitherto so slow, had progressed in such a way that Mr. Davezac had little doubt of their final success. In fact, Mr. Davezac felt so certain of success, that he informed Mr. McLane that he hoped to send the treaty to him early enough to allow the President to speak of it in his next message to Congress.

In this same despatch Mr. Davezac informed Mr. McLane that the death of the King of Spain had produced in Naples, as all over Europe, a deep lamentation. The King of Naples was making great efforts to free himself from the ominous treaty stipulations

²⁴ He was probably Raimondo de Liguoro who, in 1860, was minister of finance.

with France, England and Spain and to break the bonds of tutelage by which he had been held by Austria ever since the occupation of Naples by the forces of that power. England was, according to Mr. Davezac, very jealous of the object of his mission to Naples but, though it was not possible to keep from the English minister at Naples the knowledge of America's views, Mr. Davezac had succeeded in encouraging a belief that he had been unsuccessful in his attempts to negotiate a treaty.

It was with this in mind that the Minister of Finance kept reassuring Mr. Davezac that he and the Prince of Cassaro acted in perfect harmony of views, independent of all power or influence, and content only to serve their King and their country. During another interview with Mr. Davezac, the Marquis d'Andrea said that he was prepared to reduce to one-half the existing duties on America's cotton, tobacco, rice, tar and other articles produced or manufactured in the United States; that he would even agree to allow a determined quantity of tobacco to be deposited in the custom house at Naples, under conditions which were to be stipulated later. But, in consequence of these concessions, he expected the United States, on its part, to favor their wines, brandy, sewing silks, etc. As to their silks, in general, the Minister of Finance knew that they were, like most of other articles of the growth of the Kingdom, free of duty, under the provisions of the last tariff and, therefore, the concessions that America was willing to make should be on the articles he had numerated. Mr. Davezac remarked, in answering this last observation of the Minister, that the reciprocity which America proposed to establish by treaty would protect Naples, as long as it continued in force, against all possible changes of America's tariff and, therefore, give them an advantage in America's markets over those nations subject to its fluctuations. The Minister countered that the advantage to which Mr. Davezac referred was illusive since America had in fact paid all her debt; and, unlike the other nations of the world, what America had to fear was that its tariff, even as revised, would bring too much, not too little in the treasury.

The Minister of Finance reiterated that their wine, brandy and sewing silks were the articles they would insist on to be favored in reciprocity of their diminishing the high existing duties on tobacco, cotton, rice and some of the numbers of cotton twists which America manufactured and which their own manufacturers did not produce.

At this point the conversation was interrupted by the Marquis d'Andrea who said that he had an appointment which called him away; but, before they parted, the Minister repeated, with great warmth, the assurances of his desire to establish between the United States and the Kingdom, commercial relations which, he knew, would be equally lucrative to both.

Immediately after this conversation, Mr. Davezac hastened to communicate to the Prince of Cassaro what had passed between him and his colleague. The Prince seemed pleased that Mr. Davezac had found him so favorably disposed, because, he said, the King had great confidence in his knowledge of all motives relating to commerce.

At this point a matter related to the indemnity treaty was raised by the Prince of Cassaro who informed Mr. Davezac that it was the King's wish to pay the total sum stipulated if Mr. Davezac were authorized to make a proper deduction, as a compensation for a lump-sum payment. That, if Mr. Davezac did not have that authority, the Prince of Cassaro promised to transmit to him in writing the proposals of his Majesty's Government on the subject in order that they might be laid before the President of the United States.

Accordingly, Mr. Davezac transmitted to the Secretary of State McLane a communication from the Prince of Cassaro dated December 14, 1833 which stated that the Neapolitan Government was very desirous to pay, at once, in consideration of a heavy discount, the sum due to the United States by virtue of the stipulations of the indemnity treaty of October 14, 1832. The Prince of Cassaro was under the impression that Mr. Davezac's letter conveyed the idea that he (Mr. Davezac) had entered into negotiations tending to alter or modify the stipulations of this treaty. As a matter of fact, however, Mr. Davezac expressly refused to do anything in the matter except to transmit, as he did with one of his despatches, the offer of the Neapolitan Government to pay the amount due at once in consideration of a deduction to which, as he expressed in his despatch to Mr. McLane, Mr. Davezac thought and trusted, the American Government would not agree. The Neapolitan government, according to Mr. Davezac, far from entertaining the hope of obtaining any alteration of the stipulations of the Convention, had made arrangements to affect the first payment. This fell due on the following June 14, and Mr. Davezac felt certain that the Government would have it ready to be paid to

the person charged to receive it. This fact showed, according to Mr. Davezac, that he had never given them any cause to believe that the American government entertained the intention to modify the treaty of indemnity.²⁵

The negotiations for the treaty of commerce were protracted and delayed longer than Mr. Davezac had anticipated. In his despatch No. 6, dated Naples, January 21, 1834, to Mr. McLane, Mr. Davezac explained, in justice to himself, lest it appear that he had not urged the negotiation with sufficient energy, that the manner of doing business in Naples was such as to render the making of any treaty a difficult task. As the Neapolitan Government had never made a treaty of commerce with any nation, the want of a precedent in their own diplomatic records rendered the task a long and tedious one. Mr. Davezac had been obliged first to discuss each stipulation of the proposed treaty with several departments and, after it had been agreed upon, it had to undergo a reexamination in the Council of Ministers. This Council examined all affairs of whatever nature, originating in any of the several departments of state. As each minister urged the priority and superior importance of the business of his own department, it not infrequently occurred that a week intervened between the time when an article of the proposed treaty agreed upon was sent to the Council and the time it returned, either with their sanction or with direction to endeavor to have it altered or modified in the mode determined on by the majority of the ministers.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, Mr. Davezac explained that had his instructions limited his stay at Naples to a definite date, he would have felt some doubt as to the propriety of his not having finished the negotiation commenced, when he had the King's own declaration that "he wished to have a treaty made with America and that he had ordered his ministers to proceed to the framing of it with all convenient celerity;" but, as the silence of the State Department on that head implied a discretionary power to act for the best, according to Mr. Davezac's own view of the probability of final success, he resolved not to yield the ground to the English minister who, aware of the object of

²⁵ Several attempts were made by the Neapolitan Government to reach an agreement with the government of the United States for a lump-sum payment in lieu of the nine annual instalments originally agreed upon. However, no agreement was ever reached so that the payments of the indemnity continued in accordance with the terms of the Convention of October 14, 1832, and were made in each year up to 1842, when the ninth and final instalment was paid. See, Marraro, "John Nelson's Mission, etc.," 173-176.

Mr. Davezac's mission in Naples, through the indiscretion of the subordinate agents of Neapolitan Government, left no means untried to thwart his efforts.

Mr. Davezac confirmed his conviction that the opening of the Neapolitan market, then yet unexplored in some measure by American commerce, to the activity of American citizens was an object which he thought was worth attaining at the expense of some delay, leaving his motive to be judged by those accustomed to take a wide and liberal view of things. This is important for Mr. Davezac had the promise of the Prince of Cassaro that all would have been terminated by January 20, 1834 and if Mr. Davezac's exertions were crowned with success, aware as he was of the importance of having the treaty in the hands of the Secretary of State before Congress adjourned, Mr. Davezac promised, as directed by his instructions, to send it by special messenger.

However, the negotiations proceeded slowly but always with such a near prospect of success as to make it Mr. Davezac's duty not to break them off, while the King himself and his minister of foreign affairs assured him that by continuing them, the object which the two governments sought to obtain would be attained within a reasonable time. Finally Mr. Davezac received an instruction from the State Department²⁶ which directed him to deliver his letter of recall to the King and immediately to return to his post at The Hague unless he had a reasonable ground to believe the negotiation would be brought to a close within a specified time. Mr. Davezac communicated the President's order to the Prince of Cassaro who, even then, assured him that he had well-founded hopes of a successful issue if only he deferred his departure to the time limited by his instructions. This Mr. Davezac declined, although he had never entertained a doubt of the Minister's sincerity or of that of the intentions which the King had expressed to Mr. Nelson and reiterated to him. Consequently Mr. Davezac requested the minister of foreign affairs to obtain an audience in order to deliver to the King the President's letter and take leave of his Majesty. To the very end, the minister of foreign affairs

²⁶ John Forsyth (1780-1841). Born at Fredericksburg, Va. After his graduation from Princeton in 1799, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1802. In 1808, he began his political career with his appointment as attorney general of Georgia. He was successively a representative, United States senator, governor of Georgia, minister to Spain and Secretary of State. He held this last post from June 27, 1834 to March 4, 1841. These years were important in American diplomatic history for it was under Forsyth that the disagreeable contest with France over the treaty of 1831 and the grave question of admission of Texas into the Union were settled. See Stephen F. Miller, *The Bench and Bar of Georgia*, (1858), II, gives an excellent sketch of Forsyth's career. See also, Jennie Forsyth Jeffries, *A history of the Forsyth family* (1920); E. I. McCornis, *American secretaries of state and their diplomacy* (1928), IV; *Dictionary American Biography* (1931), VI, 533-535.

was hopeful that a treaty would be concluded, declaring that, had Mr. Davezac been allowed by his instructions to remain some months longer at Naples, the object of his mission would have been obtained.

Mr. Davezac expressed the belief that the intentions of the King and the inclination of the people were made to yield to the intrigues of a rival power; but, though they were unsuccessful, the negotiations that had taken place had so acted on public opinion, that the result would be easily attained on a future occasion. The experience Mr. Davezac had gained as to the manner in which affairs were conducted at the court of the Two Sicilies, led him to believe that when the powers of government passed into the hands of a minister possessing greater energy of purpose than the Prince of Cassaro had shown, the negotiations might be renewed with greater probability of success, particularly if the Neapolitan Government could be induced to treat at Washington instead of at Naples since the necessary powers and instructions could be sent to the Neapolitan consul general in the United States without awakening the jealousy of Great Britain. The good faith of the King, when a treaty made in conformity with Mr. Davezac's instructions should be offered to his sanction, would induce him to disregard every effort tending to its rejection. Mr. Davezac was certain that the arts of designing advisers might prevent his entering into engagement which his own judgment approved but they would never succeed in causing him to violate his word.

In submitting a definitive account of his mission to Naples to the Secretary of State, Mr. Davezac stated that it was a subject of deep regret to him that he had not succeeded in executing the views of the United States Government in the mission with which he had been charged; but he found a consolation in the knowledge of the fact that he had exerted his best ability in order to obtain for his country the advantages of a reciprocal trade with Naples on the principles of mutual concessions; and in the belief that what he had done during his residence there in removing prejudices and remedying the misinterpretations of envious rivals, would ultimately serve to hasten the time when the relations of that country and the United States would be placed in the situation required by the wants and interests of both countries.

Indeed a treaty of commerce and navigation between the Two Sicilies and the United States was not signed until December 1, 1845!

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED
BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS
OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946, of The Louisiana Historical Quarterly,
published quarterly at New Orleans, Louisiana, for October 1, 1949.

STATE OF LOUISIANA
PARISH OF ORLEANS

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and Parish aforesaid, personally appeared Charles J. Macmurdo, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Chairman of the Committee on Publications of The Louisiana Historical Quarterly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), to-wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, The Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.; Editor, Committee on Publications, New Orleans, La.; Managing Editor, Charles J. Macmurdo, New Orleans, La.; Business Manager, None.

2. That the owner is The Louisiana Historical Society, New Orleans, La.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, officers, etc., contain the full list of such; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which the said publication is published, managed and controlled.

(Signed) CHARLES J. MACMURDO, Chairman,
Committee on Publications.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October, 1949.

(SEAL)

E. A. PARSONS, Notary Public.
(My commission is for life.)

